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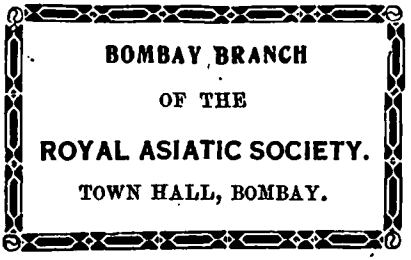

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THE

PRIVATE JOURNAL

OF THE

MARQUESS OF HASTINGS,

K.G.

Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in India.

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EDITED BY HIS DAUGHTER,

THE MARCHIONESS OF BUTE.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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THE

PRIVATE JOURNAL

OF

THE MARQUESS OF HASTINGS.

1815—*Continued.*

FEBRUARY 21st.—We marched this morning. In order to examine more closely some objects which I had only seen at a distance, I quitted the line and went across the ruined city. We found the descent from the ridge on which the palace stood, and which we were obliged to traverse, much more steep on the further side than it was on the side next our camp. Such a path as there was for a considerable part of the way consisted chiefly of steps from one broken block to another. No animal but an elephant could have carried a rider over such ground. Ours proceeded freely and confidently, nor did any one of them make a false movement.

It was interesting to see them try, by shaking with the foot, the stone on which they were to rest their weight, in order that they might be assured of its firmness before they quitted the balance of their last position. The first object of our examination was a kiosk or tower, whence the emperor used to see the elephant-fights. The latticed turret, to which the ladies descended for the same purpose, is near it. The same ornamental carving, though not in as elegant a style as that which distinguished the other edifices here, has been employed in the kiosk. We thence went to an elevated pillar, hollow, and containing a staircase thickly bristled from the bottom to the top with representations of elephants' tusks in white marble. It is recorded that on occasions of great rejoicing three or four lamps were suspended to each of these tusks. Such an illumination must have been exceedingly striking. We took up our ground at Kirowlee, a village affording nothing remarkable.

February 22nd.—We marched to Secundra; and, passing through a fine gateway, we found our tents pitched in the large garden which surrounds the tomb of Akbar. That venerable building is in

a sad state of dilapidation. It gives one pain to say that this has not arisen wholly from neglect, though the consequences of neglect alone are sufficient to excite regret. This enclosure was unfortunately chosen during the Mahratta war for the station of European Light Dragoons. It was impossible that, without any disposition to injure the building, such a set of inmates could occupy the place long without occasioning much deterioration. The garden is a square planted with mango trees. In each face of the wall it has an elevated turret gateway, elegantly inlaid with different coloured stones and enamelled tiles. That by which we entered leads to the front of the sepulchral edifice, and on that account has been distinguished from the others by superior size and ornament. The part through which one passes is in fact a fine hall. The stories above this form tolerable apartments, and the building is surmounted at the four corners by white marble minarets. From each of the gates a causeway of bricks, covered with a pavement of different coloured stones, leads to the tomb. This stands on an extensive base paved with marble, to which you ascend from the cause-

way (itself raised above the level of the garden) by three or four steps. The tomb is a very large square building of red stone. It is divided into three stories; the upper ones diminishing in size so as to leave a broad terrace. The uppermost is an enclosure of white marble open at top. It is in truth an arcade of white marble surrounding the ostensible sarcophagus of the Emperor. This is elevated on a platform of three steps from the marble floor of the court. The sarcophagus is very elegantly carved, and though thus exposed to the weather, has suffered little. The outer sides of the arcade are of that marble network (in great part) of which I have already made mention. Much damage has been done to this; and the pinnacles which crown the arcade have been let to go to ruin. The most extraordinary inattention has been the permitting trees, which sprung from seeds accidentally blown into cavities between the stones, to grow to a size which must make their roots act like levers for the destruction of the building. I ordered these to be immediately cut away, and I directed that a solution of lead should be frequently poured into the chinks till it should be sure that the roots were

destroyed. The basement story of the edifice consists of a sort of arcade, separated into parts and closed to the front in many parts by marble screens. In the middle, an elevated portal leads into a vestibule, which one can perceive to have been richly ornamented with blue and gold. The smoke of the lamps used by the persons who have tenanted it has nearly obscured this decoration. From this place, a sloping passage, lined and floored with white marble, leads to the interior of a large dome to which the edifice visible from the garden is the case or covering. Here, on the natural level of the soil, a marble monument, in the simple form affected by the Mussulmans, covers the real grave of Akbar. The veneration felt for it is lively, and the fragrant flowers with which it was bestrewed evinced that it had visitors who preserved an interest for the name. On each side of the vestibule a marble grating gives a view into a kind of chapel, where are the tombs of some of the Princesses of Akbar's family. Having satisfied my curiosity, I relieved another feeling, by directing the magistrate to apply immediately such repairs as were necessary to check the progress of this

premature decay in the building, and to give the edifice a chance of the duration which it deserved. The memory of Akbar does not belong to a particular race or country; it is the property of mankind. All that can promote the recollection of one who employed power to benefit his kind, must interest man; inasmuch as the reverence paid in such a reminiscence says, "Go and do likewise," to those on whom the comfort of millions depends. The magistrate, Mr. Turner, told me that he knew not anything which would cause so much sensation throughout the country as the order which I had just given. He said that the gratitude for such an attention to the monument of Akbar would be general, though the sentiment, soothed by that attention, would never have induced the individuals to come forward with a contribution for such a purpose. To restore this pile to its pristine splendour would require an enormous expenditure, and would, perhaps, be after all impracticable; yet even to the re-establishment of ornamental parts there has been a liberal advertence in the plan which I traced to Mr. Turner. It has suggested itself to me, that a useful watch over the

building may be framed by building within the garden a range of modest residences for invalid native officers, who should be charged with the special duty of giving notice to the magistrate when any accident occurred which called for speedy remedy.

February 23rd.—Marching amid some ruined buildings, whose remains attested the former magnificence of Secundra, we approached Agra. It is well that it is understood a poet's fancy has no limitations, otherwise the accuracy of Sir William Jones as to "Agra's roseate bowers" might be called in question. Never did soil encourage less the expectation of a crop of roses than the arid tract outside the walls of Agra. Whatever hope might have existed that there would be some symptoms of gardening within vanished on our passing the ruined gate. Nothing meets the eye but the confused heaps of red stone which vouch for the former population of this celebrated city. When, after traversing this field of desolation, one reaches habitations, the mind is forcibly struck with the inferiority of the present mansions, because the remains of the ancient houses at least

bear witness that they were constructed of a better material than mud. A pleasing attention was exhibited on this occasion. All the inhabitants were in their best dresses, and the variety of colours in the shawls and turbans, contrasted with the shining whiteness of the clothes, gave the crowd a very lively appearance. Having passed through the city, we crossed a small esplanade to the fort, by which lay our shortest route to our camp.

The massiveness of this building, which is rather a castle than a fort, excites one's admiration on the first view. The great height of the walls, the size of the stones with which it is built, and the excellence of the masonry, extort one's acknowledgment of much scope of mind in both the plan and execution. Within the gate, a pretty steep ascent, rendered easy by a well-managed road, commences. It leads to a second gate, by which one comes on the parade, formerly the principal court of the palace. This was encircled by its separate wall. The detachment of troops which occupied the fort, under Lieutenant-Colonel Cuppage, was here drawn up ready to receive me. Going out at the further end of this square, we came to the descent. It is

a hollow way cut in the hill, and, as it is paved with large flag-stones, channelled to afford sure footing, it presents no difficulty for a horse. On arriving at the drawbridge, I observed the particular caution of an elephant which preceded me. He could not be prevailed upon to pass it until he had tried it several times by putting one foot upon it, appearing to throw his whole weight upon that foot, and to shake the bridge, in order to ascertain its firmness. Our tents were pitched at Nomella cantonment, the station of the troops, as being healthier than the confinement of the fort, to which a garrison, periodically relieved, is furnished. This position is nearly two miles from the fort. The situation has no advantage but airiness. Nearer to the fort, the ground is all encumbered with ruins. We went to see the celebrated tâj, about a mile from our camp. Our first view of this building had been from the top of Akbar's tomb, at a distance of not less than eight miles, when the dome, illuminated by the setting sun, had a most grand appearance. From the nearer position of our camp, the dome seemed to be of a size inferior to what we had supposed when

we had seen it from afar; and this conception of its being somewhat deficient in magnitude, was sensible to me as I approached the edifice. One reaches it by passing through a heap of ruins and miserable huts. A handsome gateway of red stone leads to a parade, between two ranges of buildings heretofore ornamented, but now in miserable dilapidation, which were probably the residence of guards appropriated to the place. Having got beyond these buildings, one finds oneself in front of the principal entrance to the garden. This is a magnificent and beautiful gateway of red stone, particularly hard in its nature, inlaid with ornaments of white marble, or with slabs of the same, containing passages from the Koran traced in black. The great elevation of this gateway, its proportions and the style of its decorations, fitly prepare the mind for the noble object which one is proceeding to contemplate. The garden is a square, divided by two avenues of mango trees, which cross each other at right angles. The middle of the avenue, which leads to the tâj, is occupied by fountains in marble basins. A full view of the tâj from the gate is intercepted by the spreading of the mango

trees near the tâj. Nothing is lost by this temporary interruption of a distinct perception of all the parts. The pure white marble of the dome rising above these tufts, is advantageously contrasted with the green; and I felt my notion of a want of magnitude immediately expelled. On getting clear of the obstructions to a complete sight, one is filled with admiration. Many monuments of human skill and labour exist more vast and more sublime than this; but it may be doubted whether genius ever conceived and executed another fabric of equal taste or elegance. Written descriptions of buildings never convey any tolerable idea of them, therefore I do not undertake to portray the details of the tâj; but an outline may be given of its general plan sufficiently intelligible. An immense platform, if it may be so termed, of earth supported by walls of the red stone, affords a vast area, in the centre of which the building stands. The tâj is octangular; or perhaps one might better describe it as a square, the angles of which had been truncated and blunted. The whole of the building, dome included, is of white marble, which has a light brilliancy under the powerful

rays of the sun; that makes it look as if it were in some degree transparent. Detached at some distance from the corners of the building rise four minarets of white marble, very tall and beautifully proportioned. They must be elegant, when they can be considered as fit appendages to the principal edifice.

Further removed from the tâj, but still on the esplanade, and forming part of the plan, facing each flank, stands a mosque of red stone. The rear of the esplanade or platform looks to the river. Either of these mosques, placed as a single and substantive object in any city, would be a dignified ornament to it. Here they are truly subordinate. Their being of red stone, and not of white marble, has been criticised. This cannot have happened through an erroneous economy, much less through want of reflection, where such thought has evidently been exercised on the whole design. It has been the policy of the architect, and I am inclined to believe it a judicious one. He has feared that had the mosques been white they would have distracted the eye from the main fabric, and would from their distance have excited the notion of an

assemblage of buildings, so as to have prevented the gratifying sense which now exists of unity in the structure. The mosques now look like dependencies, the character which they ought to bear; and, though of inferior material, they are still becoming dependencies. Inside the building, just beneath the dome, is the tomb of Nour Jehan, to perpetuate whose memory this splendid mausoleum was raised. It occupies the exact centre, the sepulture of any other person in this spot not being originally intended. The tomb of Shah Jehan, however, was subsequently placed close to that of his queen. It is said that the monarch had proposed building on the other side of the Jumna an exact counterpart to the tâj, as the receptacle for his own remains. A considerable embankment, supported by walls of red stone like that of the tâj, does exist directly opposite. A junction was to have been formed by a magnificent bridge. The whole of such a structure would have been grand beyond any ordinary scale; but I should doubt if it would have excited as much true feeling as the building in its present state. There would have been a bewilderment in the contemplation of it

that would have prevented the impression of gentle admiration which almost every person recognises in viewing the edifice as it now stands. Whatsoever had been the purpose of Shah Jehan, his son thought the tâj the most commodious depository for the deceased Emperor, and accordingly placed his body in a tomb close to that of Nour Jehan. The tombs are of white marble, of the simple ordinary form usual among the Mohamedans, but inlaid with scroll-work of sprigs of flowers in coloured stones, exquisitely wrought. A screen or fence of white marble open work, about seven feet high, surrounds the tombs. The carving of it, representing flowers, leaves, &c., is of the most perfect quality. It is further ornamented with coloured scroll-work equal in taste and execution to that of the tombs. An exterior fence of silver once existed; but it was carried away by the Mahrattas. I cannot think its absence a loss. It surely could not have harmonized with the chaste simplicity of the other objects. In the vestibule, a staircase leads down to the sepulchral chamber in which the bodies of the Emperor and his Empress were really interred. A tomb exactly correspond-

ing to that which is above covers each of their coffins. "And this is all the space you can occupy in this vast edifice," is an irresistible observation of the mind. The thought would not be less applicable to any living individual puffed up with the notion of the immensity of position he was filling in the universe. "I, too, have lived, and had a prodigious share in my ant-hill," would be the language of a dying pismire. I retired from the tâj, gratified far beyond my expectation, though it had been highly raised. The Maha Rana of Dholepore (anciently of Gohud) came and encamped near us. I fixed to see him on the morrow, rather in defiance of etiquette. It is the custom of the native sovereigns to keep inferiors, who come to pay their respects, dancing attendance for several days before they grant an audience. The trampling on the convenience of another is a distinguished proof of elevation.

February 24th.—I went early in the morning to examine the fort. Though of considerable strength, it is rather a royal castle than a fortress. The first sensation I felt in passing through its tall and massive gateways, was wonder at what had

become of the race of men by whom such a pile had been raised. The magnitude of the plan, the size of the stones which composed the walls, and the style of the finishing, do not belong to the class of inhabitants now seen in these regions. So true it is that the character of a sovereign imparts itself speedily to all whom he sways. As long as the Mussulman Emperors preserved their individual energy, the people over whom they ruled were capable of proud and dignified exertions. But effort is contrary to the disposition prompted by a hot climate; and if a man do not expect reward for it in the notice of his superior, it is unnatural that he should rouse himself to it. The sloth of the later Emperors let down the springs of that machine which had effected the conquest of India. The example and the encouragement to vigour of spirit failed together, and the apprehensions expressed to Timour by his ameers were realized. Their fears were that if they continued to reside in the country, "our sons will become speakers of the language of Hind." The phrase implied not so much that the Affghan race would forget their mother tongue, as that they would naturally be

reared in the indolent habits and feeble sentiments of the conquered. The higher classes, in fact, became rapidly vitiated and effeminate; not so the lower orders. These lost, indeed, a sense of national pride, and that kind of information which is the joint possession of a people acting under enlightened and high-minded leaders; but the constant call for military service, to which they thought themselves born, has kept them from generation to generation individually martial. In truth, the Mussulman part of the population must have felt itself as at all times living only under an armed truce amid the more numerous Hindoos. Thence the attachment to the sabre has been maintained, and this disposition in the Mussulman has caused the Hindoo to habituate himself to arms in self-defence. This is what has occasioned the manly spirit observed by me as so prevalent in these upper provinces. It is, luckily for us, a spirit unsustained by scope of mind; so that for an enterprise of magnitude in any line, these people require our guidance. Such was not the case when their forefathers built this fort. The help contributed by the multitude in raising it has not

been mere bodily labour. The execution of every part of it indicates workmen conversant with the principles and best practice of their art. The Motee Musjeed, adjoining the palace, is a beautiful mosque of white marble. It has suffered considerably from an earthquake. As I had noticed several blocks of marble which had been saved from the ruins of other edifices, I had no hesitation about directing them to be immediately employed in repairing this fine monument of former splendour. I do not believe that the least sentiment of obligation will be felt by the Mussulmans for this preservation of a distinguished place of worship, their indifference in that respect being extreme; but it is befitting the British name that its government should not suffer (where it can easily prevent it) the decay of structures which are decorations to the country it rules. Within the palace, there is a much smaller, but still elegant, marble Musjeed, which was appropriated to the women of the zenana. It is in good condition. The apartments of the palace are in a sad dilapidated state. Taste appears to have been consulted in them rather than magnificence. When one looks from them upon the narrow turret

in which their sometime tenant, Shah Jehan, was confined by his son, Aurungzebe, one is forcibly struck with the recollection of the price which those despots pay in the precariousness of their fortune for the arbitrary indulgence of will which they exercise. The constant sight of those walls within which he had stalked supreme, and the perpetual hearing of the martial music which proclaimed the appearance of his supplanter, must have grievously sharpened to the unfortunate monarch the pangs of his imprisonment. The bath-chambers of the palace, lined and paved with marble, inlaid in the same fashion as at the tâj, are in a ruinous condition. The dome of one of them is incapable of being repaired without an expense which cannot be incurred; and whensoever it shall fall, which must happen soon, it will infallibly destroy all the beautiful workmanship beneath it. Anxious to rescue so delicate a specimen of art, I asked the collector and the magistrate, who accompanied me, whether it could be reconciled to the inhabitants to let that marble be transported to Calcutta. Those gentlemen assured me there were not ten persons in the city who knew of the existence of those

baths and certainly not one who had the slightest feeling respecting them. The pride of ancient splendour was, they asserted, quite incomprehensible to the people, provided it were unconnected with the tomb: as to any sepulchral monument they pay superstitious veneration, though they would not contribute a rupee to secure the handsomest from destruction. I consequently directed the marble of this chamber, as well as the white marble basin of a fountain which I found in the artillery-yard, full of all kinds of lumber, to be raised and shipped for Calcutta, where they may be somehow or other employed as ornaments to the city. I would not this morning look at the Hall of Mirrors, because the expense of lighting it might be spared till Lady Loudoun should be able to visit it. The arrangement of the ordnance and stores is good. What was formerly the great hall of audience is now the armoury, and answers the purpose well.

In the middle of the day I received the Rana of Dholepore, who came attended by a splendid retinue. His manners are very good, and he appeared exceedingly sensible of the courtesy which

I endeavoured to show to him. At the close of the Mahratta war we sacrificed his interest rather too lightly to the gratification of Scindiah; and I wished to eradicate, as far as I might, the dissatisfaction which the circumstance must have produced. He lamented that the son, who had accompanied him on his march, had been that morning taken so ill as not to be able to come to me. On inquiring about his malady, we were told that excessive debility was the complaint, and that the native doctors who ascribed it to a malady in the chest, had been physicking him in vain for the last twelve months. I strongly advised the Rana to let the young man consult one of the medical gentlemen of our camp; and when he took leave he promised to counsel his son to that effect.

February 25th.—I went to return the Rana of Dholepore's visit, waiving the native etiquette which thinks that in paying that compliment expeditiously too much attention is shown. The poor man had come far to offer his respects, and I was, moreover, solicitous that his sick son should not be unnecessarily detained from home. Rana is a Hindoo title of sovereignty of great antiquity,

and thence is held a higher appellation than Maha Rajah. There are but three or four chiefs who possess it, and there is a sort of reverence for the older time which prevents potentates of more recent extraction from assuming it. I found the Rana's camp perfectly well arranged, and his durbar was better regulated and more orderly than any I had seen—unless, perhaps, the Rajah of Bhurtpore's. His son, Phoop Sing, was introduced to me, as were his ministers and principal sirdars. A single rich chair was set for me under a canopy. I insisted upon having chairs brought forward for him and his son. To this he earnestly objected, saying that I was his sovereign, and that although I had ordered him to take a chair in my tent, which his duty required him to obey, he must not sit in my presence in his own tent. I should not have noticed so trivial a circumstance were it not to remark the essential advantage of keeping up a tone of dignity with these people, so that a chief shall not be ashamed of admitting before his own nobles the right of the Company to command him. It makes compliance with requisitions a matter of course, without further consideration, instead of

being a point to be deliberated upon. Any amenity of manner shown under that high pretension becomes a flattering favour, when it otherwise might not have been felt at all. Having subdued the modesty of the Rana, I placed him and his son on each side of me. Phoop Sing appears to be about seventeen or eighteen years of age. His countenance, notwithstanding strong marks of illness, is handsome and of amiable expression. Indeed, in the look and manner of the father there is a gentleness very prepossessing. I had brought with me Dr. Gordon, surgeon to the body-guard; and I entreated Phoop Sing to retire from the heat of the durbar to another tent with that gentleman, and to explain to him without reserve all the symptoms of his disorder. The Rana now solicited me to let some Nautch girls be called in, as his country was famous for them, and he had brought the best it furnished. Though nothing is more tiresome than such an exhibition, I was in politeness obliged to accede to the proposal. The ladies consequently entered, and displayed their skill. They were splendidly dressed for the occasion, but were in nothing superior to those I had seen elsewhere. When I was about to

take leave, a brace of hawks were presented, which I was given to understand was the ancient homage. The Rana wanted to mount his elephant and escort me to my camp, but I would not allow it. As a civility to him, I complimented him aloud on the appearance of his troops, who were under arms around us. He said they were not his but mine, on which all the officers and men put forth their best smiles of satisfaction. As soon as I had the opportunity of questioning Dr. Gordon about Phoop Sing, I had the satisfaction of learning that he thought the young man's malady radically slight, and that he attributed the present feebleness of the patient entirely to the injudicious management of the native physicians. He said that he had prescribed a course of medicine and diet which he was sure would produce a very beneficial alteration in a fortnight; and Phoop Sing promised to adhere to it rigidly. In the afternoon I went with Lady Loudoun to the palace in the fort; the Hall of Mirrors being in readiness for our reception. Nothing can be better calculated to give a notion of Asiatic refinement in luxury than this hall. A multitude of coloured lamps suspended from the ceiling

throw a blaze of lustre around, and the figures multiplied in the looking-glasses with which the walls are covered give a curious appearance of movement. Fountains play in marble canals, and at the further end of the hall there is a singular device. A sheet of water falls in two cascades, one above the other, but the spaces down which it tumbles are the fronts of large glass cases filled with candles, so that the light is seen through the descending liquid. The freshness of the water in some degree counterbalances the heat from the lamps. This is one of those places, however, the enjoyment of which is to consist in purpose not in practice; for I should think the Emperor after having once passed half an hour in it, would feel little temptation to repeat the visit.

February 26th.—Divine service. In the afternoon I went again to look at the tâj. Its perfect beauty makes repeated inspection interesting. I told the officer who commanded the escort of the body-guard, that any of his men might enter the building, should they be curious to view the interior. Several availed themselves of the permission; and all who did so, on approaching the

tombs touched the pavement with their foreheads. I gratified the attendants very much by ordering a new silver-tissue canopy, with proper standard-poles to be raised over the monuments. That which now exists is completely ragged, and supported by shabby sticks covered with coarse red paint. The reverence shown by the troopers to the remains of the sovereigns is sufficient to show how a little attention of this sort will be appreciated. Again and again I say that men are to be gratified not by what we think important, but by what comes home to their habitual feelings and prejudices, howsoever trifling it may appear to us. This is a policy sadly neglected by the British in this country, and the consequence is visible in the very little approach to assimilation towards which our long dominion over the country has led the natives. In regard to the tâj, however, Government had been laudably careful and munificent. It was in a state that menaced speedy downfall. Seeds of the pepul tree, carried by the wind or by birds, got into crevices of the masonry in the dome, and taking root there, were growing luxuriantly. The power of such roots of oversetting walls is well

known, and the neglect of a few years more would have made the damage to this building irreparable. Justly alarmed, Government ordered the deracination of these trees; not restricting, however, its attention to that point, but liberally ordering the restoration of all that suffered injury from time or accident in the edifice. The repairs were found more extensive and chargeable than was apprehended; but the work has been done in the completest manner, both in regard to elegance and to permanence. I was told the natives greatly applauded the piety of the act, though they would not have done it themselves; remaining quite insensible to any merit in the preservation of the building as a splendid monument of art. Mr. Turner, the magistrate, informs me that in the Christian burying-ground there are several tombstones, bearing Italian names, with the date corresponding to the erection of the tâj. This circumstance strongly confirms the supposition that artists had been procured from Europe to plan and execute the building.

February 27th.—In the morning, I went to the fort to decide on some repairs stated to be neces-

sary. The readiness in which a battering train is kept here for sudden service, pleased me much. The provision is not advisable against bordering states alone; there is within our own territory an evil, to meet which one should be prepared. The constant obstruction to our police by Dya Ram's possession of the strong fortress of Hattrass, must soon produce a question on that important point. His just confidence in the strength of his fort, and in the quality of the numerous well-disciplined troops which his large income enables him to maintain, makes him forget that he is nothing but a jagheerdar and subject. He affects the style of an independent chief, and, to augment his revenue, as well as to secure aid from them, he gives shelter to bands of robbers, who pay him a tribute for the protection. This has been suffered much too long. A person in his situation, and with his pretensions, must, through apprehension, be hostile to our Government, and the mischief is obvious which must attend the existence of a fortress in the heart of our possessions, under the command of an individual disposed to render it an invitation and an

asylum for any of the adventurers who may assemble armies on our frontiers. In the middle of the day I held a durbar. The persons present were as follows:—Goorghun Beg Khan, jagheerdar, who had a command under Lord Lake; Aratun, his son; Ibrahim Beg Khan, son of the late Nawab; Ismael Khan, connected with the Nawab at Pulwul; Rao Chootur Bhoja, formerly minister of Jypore; Bukhshee Balmochund, formerly vakeel from Jypore to the British Government; Ahmed Yar Khan and Akber Yar Khan, sons of Khod Yar Khan, jagheerdar in this district; Neeamut Oolla Khan, who holds a pension; Wujud Ali Khan, Cazy of the city of Agra; Ullum-oo-Deen, law officer of the court of Agra. They appeared all respectable and polished men.

At night we went to view the tâj by moonlight. It was well worth the trouble. The night was cloudless, and the moon shed a brilliancy on the pure white of the building that was uncommonly striking. The silence, the chastened light, the solemnity of the scene, all contributed to enhance the real beauty of the appearance. We lingered

long at the spot, contemplating the objects from various points, and when we departed, it was with a deep impression of gratification.

February 28th.—We bade adieu to Agra. In taking leave of Mr. Metcalfe and Mr. Strachey, I requested the former to take with him to Delhi the gaudy state chariot, as a present to the King. That it might be complete, I sent the four fine horses accustomed to draw it, with their rich harness. As an article of convenience and splendour, it was the most striking that I could send; and I wished to show the attention, as I had so much shorn the pretensions of his Majesty to supremacy. From the cantonments to the place where our boat waited for us, the route lay under the walls of the fort. Just at the ghaut we saw the famous brass cannon. It is probably the largest, certainly the most useless, piece of ordnance ever cast. It lies, without a carriage, on blocks of timber near the ghaut, whence one infers that there was at some period an intention of moving it elsewhere by water. The transportation of it would not be difficult, but I am told that nothing would more painfully affect the feelings of

the inhabitants of Agra than the removal of this gun. When we embarked, we did not go straight across the river, but proceeded up it about a mile to see the Queen's gardens. It was a favourite retreat of Nour Jehan. There are not in the buildings any vestiges of magnificence. The garden is subdivided into a number of square compartments by high terraces, which cross each other. These terraces, while they form the walks, serve to conduct to the different parts of the garden the water raised from the Jumna by a wheel worked with oxen. This constant irrigation produced verdure in the garden, when little appearance was left of it in other places during the hot season. The garden is now in the possession of Government; it is put to the national use of raising a quantity of forest or fruit trees, which are delivered gratis to any of the zemindars who apply for them.

Notwithstanding this facility, and the prospective advantage, there are few of the zemindars who will be at the trouble of planting out those trees. The fruit which we found in the greatest plenty here, was a kind of orange, the eatable part of which is almost loose within the rind. It adheres

by only a few fibres. In point of flavour and succulence, it is by no means a good sort. Embarking again, we descended the stream, and landed near the tomb of Eatimud-oo-Dowlah, the father of Nour Jehan. It is the plan of the tomb of Akbar on a diminished scale. The ornamental work of the inside is of the same style of inlaying with that at the tâj, but of coarser material and inferior execution. With regret I observed how much it had been suffered to go to decay before this part of the country came into our possession. On inquiry, I found that lands had been bequeathed to a branch of Eatimud's family, which still holds them, for the purpose of keeping up this monument. I directed the magistrate to apprize them that, if decent repair was not from time to time bestowed on the building, Government would resume the lands as forfeited by the non-performance of the duty assigned. I hope the menace may have some effect. Our camp was very near the tomb, as the elephants, camels, and cattle from our former ground had a considerable circuit to make in order to gain practicable ford.

March 1st.—To Eatimudpoor, twelve miles.

March 2nd.—To Firozabad, thirteen miles.

March 3rd.—To Shekoabad, fifteen miles.

March 4th.—To Burawul, ten miles.

March 5th.—To Bikree, nine miles.

None of these marches have produced anything worthy of observation. The country which we have traversed is poorly cultivated, not having yet recovered the devastation which it suffered in the Mahratta war.

March 6th.—Marched to Mynpooree. The country has improved considerably in appearance, and at Mynpooree there is all the elegance of buildings which marks a British station. In the town there is a building asserted to be Hindoo, with a steeple so like that of many churches in England, as to give me at first the conviction that it was an European place of worship. I could not learn when or by whom it was erected. The body of the building does not correspond at all with this appendage. Probably some Portuguese in the earlier period of their intercourse with this country, has prevailed on a rich native to let him add this decoration to the temple, which the native was disposed to raise. This day's march was twelve miles.

March 7th.—To Bueegaon, nine miles.

March 8th.—To Muddunpoor, twelve miles.

March 9th.—To Sookhraee.

March 10th.—To Futtehghur. The country had been improving in appearance latterly. As we approached this place, I was much struck with it. The whole plain, wherever the eye can reach, is covered with luxuriant crops. Numerous and large groves of mango-trees break the uniformity of the scene, and those at a distance form a rich background to it. The part immediately close to the cantonment is an exception to this statement. It is broken in an extraordinary manner by small ravines, not running in any general direction, but forming the most confused map of intersections imaginable. This tract is of course uncultivated, and nothing can present a more arid sterility than its face. A considerable protection is afforded to the cantonment by this state of the soil; for cavalry cannot approach but by the roads, on all of which there are narrow passes. The supposition that cavalry could reach a station so much withdrawn from the frontier may seem strained; yet it is certain from former instances that the Mahrattas,

and still more the Pindaree Horse, would be very capable of penetrating thus far; and probably their appearance on the spot would be the first notice of their irruption. A strong temptation for such an enterprise exists. There is a mint here for converting into our coin the various moneys received in the course of trade by these districts, and paid as bullion in the settlement of public demands. At times many lacks of rupees are accumulated in the mint. Our camp was pitched on a part of the parade, near the theatre. We have, however, this evening established ourselves in an excellent house, lent to us by Mr. Donnithorne, the collector and mint master. It is very extensive and convenient.

March 11th.—The young Nawab of Furruckabad and his brother came to breakfast. They had come out on their elephants to make their salaams, on our approach yesterday, and I had given this invitation as a compliment, which has been highly felt. The Nawab appears very intelligent, and shows more of education, both as to manners and information, than any native of his age whom I have met. The young men were much pleased

with strawberries, which they had never seen before; I gratified them with an assurance that I would endeavour to get some plants for them. This fruit came from a garden of Mr. Donnithorne's, and was tolerably good. In the middle of the day, I had a levee. The principal civilians were Sir Edward Colebrooke and Mr. Deane, commissioners for the settlement of the ceded and conquered provinces, two men to whose talents and indefatigable industry the Company is extraordinarily indebted; Mr. Donnithorne; Mr. Wright, judge and magistrate; Mr. Newnham, superintendent of resources; Mr. Laing, secretary to the commissioners; Mr. Moore, assistant ditto; Mr. Christian and Mr. Traill, assistants; Mr. Reilley, civil surgeon; Mr. Blake, assay master.

March 12th.—We had divine service in the house. The Rev. Mr. Thomason, who had preceded us from Agra in order to embark here for Calcutta, had been accidentally detained. We have summoned the chaplain from Cawnpore, Mr. Henderson, to officiate here during our stay.

March 13th.—I went to Furruckabad to return the Nawab's visit. His guardian privately soli-

cited through Sir Edward Colebrooke, that I would go on my elephant, as the young Nawab was not a good horseman, and it would not be proper for him to be on an elephant should I be on a horse. This weighty article was settled according to his wish. The city is nearly three miles from Futtehghur. About a mile from the gate, the Nawab and his kinsmen met me, making their elephants kneel in salutation. This ceremony being over, they hastened with all speed back to the city, that the Nawab might meet me at the palace.

I followed leisurely, and had a thorough view of Furruckabad. It is large and populous; but it has much more the appearance of a multitude of huts suddenly run up in a grove for temporary residence than it has that of a city. The streets are wide and were very clean. The people of any substance were all dressed for the occasion, and testified great respect. The palace stands at the further end of the town in the midst of houses; winding paths, rather than lanes, lead up a tolerable ascent to it. The Nawab met me at the gate, too narrow for the elephant to enter, and I was carried a few steps in a palankeen to a hall of reception. This has evi-

dently been built by an European architect. It is spacious and lofty, commanding a fine view over the plain. There is a garden, well laid out in the formal fashion, at the foot of the terrace on which it stands. The airiness of this part of the palace, therefore, compensates for the manner in which it is shouldered by buildings on the other side. Thirty-one trays of presents were offered, but I would only take the plainest shawl that appeared among them. A message was sent from the zenana, by his mother, imploring my protection for the Nawab. They cannot in their notions separate power from the arbitrary use of it, and even their experience of us cannot make them think themselves secure against those oppressions which they were accustomed to undergo from the governments that preceded us. This family was desperately squeezed while it was under the dominion of Asoph-oo-Dowlah. They now enjoy in security a dignified opulence. The tone which I held on closing my visit was, I believe, very satisfactory.

March 14th.—I went at daybreak to examine the fort. It is one of the country mud forts, but

of considerable extent. After this territory had been ceded to us, we brought forward a claim that the Nawab Vizeer should repair some damages which had, through inattention, accrued to the works after they were by treaty become ours. The Vizeer was glad to compound for laying down the sum which we said the repairs would cost, and an assurance was given to him (lest he might apprehend a second demand) that the money should not be applied to any other purpose. As the cash, however, went into the general treasury, there was no particular impatience in Government to expend it on its destined object, and it is only of late that an order has been given for the repairs. They are forward for the time employed, and the place will, for a less amount than that allotted for the service, be made of sufficient strength for any purpose which can be contemplated in it. The only utility of such a fortress is, that in the temporary denudation of the district from the troops being employed elsewhere, it may receive the public treasure, the women, the civil officers, the sick, and the baggage of the corps in the field; all of which might otherwise be at the mercy of predatory parties. The

fort is on a cliff above the Ganges, but that elevated bank is giving way so much, from the current setting against it, that it will be difficult to keep any regular face on that side; on the other hand, an attempt to surprise it from the water could scarcely be undertaken, as the strength of the stream would make the chances infinite against a boat's hitting its point in a dark night, the only time which could afford a hope of success to such an enterprise. The fronts presented to the land would require a good battering-train and much leisure, neither of which such an enemy as could assail them is likely to have. After breakfast, I had a levee for the native officers of the new levies as well as those of the battalion of the 4th Native Infantry stationed here. This is an attention which has, as I am assured, a very beneficial effect. The officers feel elevated by it in the opinion of their countrymen, and the distinction is an additional motive for attachment to our service.

March 21st.—Nothing has occurred in the intermediate days worth entering.

March 27th.—Examining the nature of the ravines, I discovered easily the cause of their broken

appearance. The soil is very full of konka, a kind of limestone. Though the konka is not in layers, where a number of the nodules of it happen to be together they bind each other and resist the action of the rains, which wash away the looser earth. Hence are produced those singularly rugged irregularities which mark this spot. The banks of the ravines are full of cavities which afford safe retreats to a number of wolves. The inhabitants have, however, a superstitious prejudice against killing wolves. They believe that wherever the blood of a wolf is shed, several other wolves of a peculiarly fierce quality will be produced from it, and will make it their special business to avenge the slaughtered wolf by preying on the aggressor or his family. Many children and some women are carried off every year from Futtehghur by the wolves, which come after dark into the very houses; and the people are always satisfied that some individual of the family, in which the calamity occurs, must have provoked their vengeance by killing a wolf somewhere. I had orders given to my own shikaree (keeper) to shoot a wolf for me, as I wanted to see if there were any difference between it and

the wolf of Europe. He answered that if he could get a shot at a wolf while it was passing a piece of water he would certainly try to kill one for me, but that he did not dare to attempt it where the blood would fall on land.

April 2nd.—Mr. Henderson having arrived, we have had divine service this morning for all of the cantonment. The only place capable of receiving such a congregation is a large room under the same roof with the theatre. The vicinity is rather incongruous, but in this country one must avail oneself of the best resource that occurs.

April 8th.—A man brought some lizards of a species of which I had seen but one before. They are about a foot in length, of a dirty cream colour, the skin granulated, and the tail horizontally flattened. They do not show any activity, and never attempt to bite. By the man's description they live in a social way, a good many of them together, in mounds of sandy soil.

April 9th.—Divine service at five in the morning. Mr. Reilly showed to me a small kind of cobra capella, preserved in spirits. It has the spectacle mark very distinct near the head; but Mr. Reilly

assures me that this kind, discriminated from the others by its yellow hue, never grows to a length exceeding a foot. I take this to be what the Portuguese denominated cobra menil; though our people, misled by the natives, have been fruitlessly seeking for some very minute serpent of superiorly venomous quality, which they imagine to be designated by that name. The natives in general believe all serpents to be poisonous, and have a current notion about some very small snake whose bite kills in a few seconds; though none of them can point out the kind. From the inquiries I have made, I understand the snake-catchers are not acquainted with any very small serpent that is dangerous.

April 16th.—I sent to the Nawab of Furruckabad two fine tigers, which I had just received from the Rana of Dholepore. The delight which this present gave to the young man surpasses all description. He told Sir E. Colebrooke the tigers were just what he wanted to have; but that they should be sent to him by the Governor-General was such an honour to him, in the estimation of the country, as would add the highest consideration to his family.

We had divine service in the morning. It is always well attended, notwithstanding the heat. Many half-castes were present.

April 20th.—A Mogul, whose clear complexion, manners, and dress bespoke him of rank, had met me yesterday in my morning ride. Dismounting from his horse he approached me with a petition, which I of course received. On putting it into my hand, he said it was secret. I requested him to call on Mr. Ricketts for the answer; and I put the petition into my pocket. When I got home, it appeared to be only a solicitation that I would grant him a private audience in such a manner as would not attract notice. I transmitted the petition to Mr. Ricketts, entreating him to tell the Mogul that the conference between them would answer just as well as if I granted the audience. Mr. Ricketts has related the substance of the secret communication, which was to this effect. It was conceived that the misbehaviour of Dya Ram at my durbar must have left on my mind the determination to punish that chieftain. His officers were exceedingly attached to his eldest son, and feared the young man might be implicated in the

ruin of his father. They therefore proposed to fulfil all my wishes, on the condition that I would engage to let the son succeed his father. If I would make that promise, I had nothing to do but to advance, with three battalions, against Hattras, when the gates should be immediately opened, the corpse of Dya Ram should be laid at my feet, the fortress should be surrendered, and the son should take the oath of fealty. I desired Mr. Ricketts to inform the Mogul that if the British Government were disposed to punish Dya Ram, it was strong enough to do so, without resorting to the baseness of conspiracy and murder; ordering the Mogul to quit Futtehghur immediately.

May 2nd.—An animal of the badger tribe was brought for our inspection. It is a native of the lower range of hills; and is called by our people the grave-digger, from its habit of burrowing into places where corpses are interred, in order to feed on them. An uglier animal I have never seen. It is less than our badger, and the head not so much prolonged, of a dirty black and white, with a fore-arm and paw of uncommon strength in proportion to the size of the creature, to aid it in delving. It

has been objected to those who maintain the doctrine of final causes, that they reason inversely; and it is insisted that instead of a certain conformation having been bestowed on an animal, with a reference to its destined mode of living, it is the peculiar structure of the animal which determines its propensities, and above all its selection of food. The position could not be exemplified more speciously than by instancing the shape of such a quadruped as the grave-digger. Supposing that shape accidental, a consciousness attendant on it of incapacity to overtake weaker animals above ground, or to escape from stronger ones, would necessarily incline the grave-digger to seek its subsistence, and at the same time to ensure its safety, by pursuing creatures which burrow; in the course of which habit, its stumbling on the ample store of a buried body would naturally superinduce in the individual the custom of searching for so convenient a provision. This argument, impeachable on many other grounds, would not account for the undeviating instinct with which different animals show an eagerness for some particular kind of food, apparently assigned to them by Providence,

though they may never before have seen it. My children have a little ichneumon, which was taken so young out of the nest, that there is no probability of its ever having fed at that time but by sucking the mother. It has since been reared on bread and milk. The other day a lizard ran across the floor, the ichneumon darted at it, seized it, and devoured it greedily. The circumstance seems to have awakened in the ichneumon dispositions quite dormant before; for it ever since has shown a captiousness and a readiness to bite, of which there was not antecedently any symptoms. To look for buried carcasses may have been taught the grave-digger by accident; but it is still a practice linked to those propensities which seem to be the destination of his being. There appears a constant arrangement in nature for circumscribing the extension of species otherwise likely to become too numerous; and the function of the grave-digger is probably to keep within bounds certain races which breed under the surface, and which, but for such an enemy, would pullulate too rapidly.

May 18th.—A native brought a number of black scorpions to show to us. They are shorter,

broader, and flatter than any I had before seen. He had thrown them out of an earthen pot on to the ground; and when our curiosity was satisfied he collected them with his fingers and put them quietly back again. I could not learn that he considered himself secured by any charm against their sting, and it appeared that he depended solely on not provoking them by handling them roughly.

May 24th.—A wolf was brought for examination. It was said to be of full size. In that case these Indian wolves are not so large and powerful as the wolves of Europe. I saw no difference in other respects.

May 30th.—Observing a hyena which some men had brought, I noticed that one of its forelegs was broken; the men answered very quietly that they had broken it on purpose, in order to prevent the animal's getting away if he happened to extricate himself from the rope with which he was tied. There is a strange inconsistency with these people. The have great reluctance to kill anything; but short of putting it to death, they will without compunction exercise any cruelty on it. A day or two ago three guanas were brought. Each had its

back and lower jaw broken to prevent its running off or biting. Yet these same folks exert themselves to preserve the lives of the pariah dogs (dogs that belong to nobody) on a particular occasion. Once or twice in every year, the magistrate here gives notice that on such a day parties will be sent out to kill all dogs found straying. This is done on account of the frequency of mad dogs. The notice is given that gentlemen possessing dogs may keep them tied up on that day; and the natives constantly defeat the purpose of the magistrate by enticing into their houses, and shutting up as many dogs as they can, though they have no partiality for the dogs and are much troubled by them at all times.

June 4th.—The King's birthday; but as the hot winds are still in force, there was no making any party for the celebration of it. I had the troops out on their parade to fire a *feu de joie* in honour of the occasion, this evening; though it was after sunset, the air and the ground were of a temperature almost intolerable. I always take a short ride at daybreak, but even then the heat is great.

June 15th.—The Nawab Vizeer insisted on sending his son to compliment me on our success against the Gorkhas. This day Nusser-oo-Deen, who now has the title of Imteeanz-oo-Dowlah, arrived at the ground allotted for his encampment near the new custom-house, about a mile from my quarters. He was accompanied by Agha Meer, the real minister, (now dignified by the name of Moatummud-oo-Dowlah), and by Rajah Dya Krishen, the dewan. Their escort, suite, and camp-followers amounted to at least 15,000 persons. I should have been rejoiced to receive the young Prince immediately, but the laws of etiquette in this country would not allow it. The minister and Mr. George Baillie, assistant to the Resident at Lucknow, came from Imteeanz-oo-Dowlah to ask leave for his waiting on me. I fixed that he should breakfast with me to-morrow. I received the minister with every mark of civility. The kind attention of Mr. Deane and Mr. Donnithorne, in sending to me a quantity of peaches from their gardens, enabled me to make a very acceptable present of fruit to Imteeanz-oo-Dowlah.

June 16th.—The whole party came to breakfast;

and the young Prince seemed unfeignedly happy to see us. He presented me in the usual tone of observance, with a sword, which, with a delicate attention to my former objections to costly gifts, was of trifling price. It fulfilled the custom, which was enough.

June 17th.—I went to return the visit, attended by all the gentlemen of the station. We were on elephants, which is here the highest state. Imteeanz-oo-Dowlah met us about halfway, with all his suite. We proceeded through his escort, many of whom had seen me at Lucknow, and seemed quite glad to meet me again. When we descended at the Prince's tents we went for a moment into the durbar, and thence to the breakfast tent. A party of the Nautch women had been brought from Lucknow to enliven the festival. After they had performed some time with their usual monotony, a female balancer succeeded; and then came a buffoon representation of a Persian courting a Hindostanee woman. The latter character was acted by a Cashmerian boy, who took off with some acuteness the tone and manner of three or four of the Nautch women. The women seemed much

amused with his ridicule of them. When we arose from table, we went into a tent where very handsome presents were laid out. At the upper end of it there was a portrait of me curiously arranged. It was a three-quarter, copied on canvas from the picture done by Mr. Home, at Lucknow; but the figure had been cut out from the rest of the canvas, and had been fixed on a transparent gauze, which produced a very odd effect. I took a shawl, telling the Prince he knew my rule about presents. As the sun was high and strong when we parted, I would not allow Imteeanz-oo-Dowlah to quit the tents; but there was no preventing the ministers from seeing me safe home. Moatummud-oo-Dowlah said it would discredit him in everybody's eyes if I forbade his attendance.

June 18th.—I this day sent to the Prince, though in truth it was giving it to the Nawab Vizeer, a beautiful grey horse which the Prince Regent had bestowed on me. Any article which money could purchase would be but an insignificant present to a person in possession of vast riches. An English horse of such quality was not procurable for money. It was, therefore, a magnifi-

cent gift; but it was well merited by one who had lent to me (on my simple signature), for the use of the Company, 2,600,000*l.* sterling in cash; and I could be sure that the Prince Regent would applaud my having so disposed of his present. The simple circulation of such an amount of coin, all silver, in our own provinces, must be an extraordinary benefit to the Company's territories, and of course to the Company itself.

June 19th.—Imteeanz-oo-Dowlah and his party dined with me. Such a ceremony is an oppressive service at this season; but as there was much cordiality, it went off very well. Many of the Mussulmans in other parts of India will not eat with the Europeans, although they sit down to table with them. All those from Lucknow partake of the dinner without scruple, if they have a general assurance from you that there is no swine's flesh in the dishes. I observed that three holy men who accompanied Imteeanz-oo-Dowlah were as little scrupulous as the rest.

June 20th.—Moatummud-oo-Dowlah had an audience from me on business. He had caused the substance of the Nawab Vizeer's applications

to be communicated to me beforehand, that I might consider how far I could meet them. Luckily they were in general so fair that my answers were satisfactory. One of them related to a point on which the Nawab Vizeer had extraordinarily set his heart. Our district of Khyraghur is uncommonly famous as a spot for tiger hunting. The Vizeer, who takes with him on his hunting excursions nearly six hundred elephants to drive the game from all quarters to the place where he purposes to sport, was quite fascinated with the accounts he had received of the advantages possessed by this tract for his style of recreation; and he solicited the cession of it to him on any terms. The district is of no benefit to us. It is a long strip between the dominions of the Vizeer and the Gorkha territories, from both of which predatory parties are continually plundering our farmers, harassingly occupying our troops, and furnishing the ryots with an excuse for nonpayment of their rents. The possession is therefore a trouble to us, and makes little return to the Treasury. I told Moatummud-oo-Dowlah that I was highly desirous to gratify the Vizeer; but as I was

the depositary of the Company's interest, I could only act according to the principle of that trust. I said, that as we had expelled the Gorkhas from the low lands, which bordered on Khyraghur, a rich and extensive territory, including the part which his Excellency so much coveted, was at my disposal, and I professed my readiness, on the termination of the war with the Gorkhas, to make over to the Vizeer that territory upon terms that might be satisfactory to my employers. I represented that as the Vizeer gained much in point of security by the issue of the war, he would at all events probably wish to compensate us for our expenditures. Were a grant of Khyraghur and the conquered lands adjacent to be added to the former consideration, I conceived the Vizeer might be well inclined to wipe off one crore from the debt which we had recently incurred towards him. The minister said that he looked on the proposition as perfectly just, and that he had not a doubt of the Vizeer's cheerful acquiescence. If I can accomplish this arrangement, it will be a prodigious point gained for the Company.

June 21st.—Imteeanz-oo-Dowlah came to me,

that I might carry him to the mint, and show to him and his party the whole process of coinage. They seemed much gratified. They then breakfasted with me, after which I had a number of chemical experiments exhibited to them by the assay master, Mr. Blake. This seemed to be quite novel to them, and excited their wonder very much. I asked Dya Krishen if Imteeanz-oo-Dowlah had tried the English horse, as I had apprized him that it was perfectly gentle. The dewan answered, that the young Prince would not venture to mount it on any account without having previously received the Nawab Vizeer's special permission. In the evening I dined with Imteeanz-oo-Dowlah, in his encampment. It is surprising how well children of rank are brought up to go through these ceremonies with patience and gravity. Nothing could be better than the manners of this young man. At table we had a repetition of the songs, the balancing girl, and the buffoonery, without the slightest variation.

June 22nd.—The written answers to the vizeer's applications were signed by me, and delivered to Moatummud-oo-Dowlah and Dya Krishen, who

professed their conviction that the tenor of the document would be highly gratifying to his Excellency.

June 23rd.—Imteeanz-oo-Dowlah and the rest came to the audience of leave. I gave some presents for himself and the Nawab Vizeer, and I made my children give some curious articles to Imteeanz-oo-Dowlah, in return for Hindostanee dresses sent to them from the zenana. Lady Loudoun likewise gave him a handsome present. On the two ministers I bestowed very rich khelauts. These, a heavy weight, were put over their ordinary clothes, and to Moatummud-oo-Dowlah there was superadded a fur cloak—a peculiar distinction. Such clothing, with the aid of a sword, with a broad belt thrown over one shoulder, and a shield dependent from the other, must in this broiling weather have made the patients pay dear for the honour bestowed on them. They appeared, however, extremely sensible to the distinction, and waddled to their elephants with infinite complacency. The young Prince seemed really concerned at the separation, and earnestly recommended himself to our remembrance. Dya

Krishen threw out privately to Mr. Ricketts his anxiety to be freed from his office. From other circumstances I feared there is in the Vizeer's character a suspicion and a fickleness which make it difficult to serve him with comfort.

July 12th.—The rains set in some time ago, and have been more plentiful than usual. There is thence a keen prognostication among the natives of fertility. The ground is thoroughly soaked, and the ploughs are everywhere at work. While the hot winds blow, the soil is baked as hard and close as it is during a severe frost with us. Heavy as is the quantity of rain which has fallen, it has not yet been sufficient to make the general temperature of the air much cooler. The breeze, indeed, is no longer scorching, but the earth has been so much heated that the glow from it continues. For the present the rain is suspended; it is, therefore, a moment of great convenience for the farmer, who hopes to get his seed into the ground before a second deluge comes. Though with their miserable ploughs they can only just scratch the surface of the soil, they get plentiful crops without manure. By repeated ploughings

they pulverize the earth very thoroughly, and in this rests all their confidence of what is to produce a beneficial return. Many of our people have supposed that this management may be the best suited to the soil and climate, and have imagined that our system of ploughing would not answer. They overlook the disproportioned amount of labour expended here on every acre, and the large quantity of seed required to ensure a satisfactory crop. I am satisfied that infinite advantage may be rendered to the community by the introduction of some of our practice, which the farmer here would readily adopt had he ocular proof of its benefit. Much good which might be done to this country is passed over, from an erroneous persuasion that the people are too obstinately wedded to their own habits to adopt any improvement from us; but in all unenlightened nations it must be the case, that men are not able to comprehend theories, and can be convinced only by what is proved to their sight. If these people remain rivetted to their prejudices the fault is in those rulers who have made no effort for the diffusion of knowledge among them.

July 22nd.—A curious account has been given to me of a sect called the Saads, who inhabit a particular quarter of the city of Furruckabad. They have been settled here for about two hundred years, but do not seem to have any accurate tradition of their origin, or whence they came. In many respects they resemble our Quakers. They make no salaam or salutation to anybody, yet are respectful in their look and demeanour. Their religion is pure Deism. Distinction of caste is rejected by them, and they marry chiefly among themselves. Being strictly moral and industrious, they are respected by their neighbours of the Hindoo or Mahomedan persuasions. At fixed periods they have public meetings of each ward of their part of the city, on which occasions their particular articles of doctrine are expounded and inculcated by some of the principal persons, irregular conduct of individuals is investigated, and distresses not entailed by culpable indiscretion are relieved from the fund of a voluntary contribution. Although their manner is mild, they have not the gravity of the Quaker, but appear in everything perfectly simple, contented, and inoffensive. I

do not recollect to have met with any mention of these people, and it is singular that a sect so strongly discriminated from the other natives, and so numerous, should not have attracted more notice.

July 29th.—Our short residence here has occasioned the circulation of a considerable sum of money in the neighbourhood. The advantageous effect of that addition to the means of the people around is very pleasingly exhibited. A great number of patches of ground, which at our arrival here were in a state of hopeless neglect, are now under tillage. I allude to the little flat plots among the ravines. Remarkable industry has been shown in smoothing and rendering cultivable very many surfaces which were so broken as apparently to bid defiance to the approach of the plough. Much encouragement is undoubtedly given to activity in this respect. If a man will undertake to bring a spot of waste ground into cultivation, the collector will grant him a lease for five years rent free, with a specified light acknowledgment for the succeeding three years. At the expiration of the eighth year, the collector has to agree for a new lease on

the ordinary terms of the district. The result of such a bargain in England would be that the occupier would work the land to exhaustion, and then quit it. That cannot happen here; the land, without any appearance of richness, has a principle of renovation in it which causes it to be always in heart, if it be but kept sufficiently ploughed. Of course the occupier at the end of his lease has from his experience learned to place such confidence in an ample return that there is nothing so far from his wish as to quit his tenure. 'In some English publications I have seen strong representations made against the enormous proportion of the produce of the land exacted by the British Government in India. That in many cases under the permanent settlement the demand is so large as to operate oppressively, I well believe, yet that is not to be charged directly to Government. Much oversight was committed in that arrangement, which (as it was managed) was more specious than really beneficial. It was assumed that the zemindars were the real landowners, and that, commanding as such the attachment of the peasantry, they would insure the adherence of the latter to our

Government if their own interest in the land were secured from precariousness or extortion. On this principle, the proprietary right of the zemindar to the tract under his management was declared, subject to his paying in perpetuity to Government a quit-rent, settled generally by the rate at which he was actually assessed. Where the payment was heavy, it was supposed the zemindar would indemnify himself by an improved cultivation or by bringing into tillage the waste lands thrown in without charge into the allotment assigned him. It was forgotten that the zemindar was not the cultivator, and no protection was given to the ryot, the real tiller (perhaps the real proprietor) of the soil, against the oppressive exactions of the zemindar, whose actual dependent he was made by this settlement. In fact, the zemindar was originally nothing more than the contractor with the native government for the rent of a certain district. He resembled the middle-man in Ireland. The indolence of administrations would render this contract generally hereditary. In many cases the contract was in some old family possessing the habitual reverence of their neighbours, and thence exercising

considerable influence over them; but in many other instances the ruin of respected stocks had caused their place to be occupied by upstart adventurers, hateful to the people, and hating them in return. In either supposition, where the rent demanded of the zemindar was high, he looked to discharge it as well as to provide for his own maintenance by squeezing the ryot. He never felt an urgency for advancing money to bring the waste land into cultivation; the ryot could not engage in such a speculation when he was at the mercy of the zemindar; therefore little of the ground which was waste has been brought into tillage where the permanent settlement exists.

It is clear that the object of attaching the population of the country to you must have failed as far as this was the engine which was to effect it; and it is fortunate that there are many other circumstances which have had better influence. Whatsoever the burden may be, under which the ryots labour, where the permanent settlement is established, there is no such grievance in these provinces. Here, it is the real farmer who rents the land from Government. A due allowance is

made for the slenderness of his capital. It is known that he must pay those who till the land for him by giving to each a certain proportion of the general produce; he must set aside the seed for the next sowing; and he must lay apart what is requisite for the subsistence of his family, before he can sell anything to furnish his rent. This district of Furruckabad contains on a round calculation about 700,000 English acres of cultivated land, and about 350,000 of waste; which latter must be to a certain degree useful for cattle. The arable land is assessed on an average at 4*s.* 6*d.* the English acre, nothing being required for the waste. This is certainly a moderate rent, for land which always yields two crops in the year and often three. Further, in any case where the crop fails, a remission is made in proportion to the deficiency of produce. In the districts of Bareilly and Shahjehanpore the rent is still lighter. In each of these the arable land is more than double the amount of what exists in the district of Furruckabad. The highest average in any of the twelve large districts comprised in the conquered and ceded provinces is 6*s.* 4*d.* per English acre. That takes place in

southern Goruckpore alone, and arises from this, that the waste (about 1,300,000 English acres) affords good pasturage, for which a rent is virtually involved in the charge for arable land.

August 2nd.—We had this morning an exhibition which was interesting to me. A cobra capella was brought that I might see it attacked by an ichneumon. The latter was young and wild, so that it was necessary it should be held in a string to prevent its getting away. The snake was lifted by an iron hook out of a basket and laid on the ground. At first it only looked about, as seeking in what quarter it might best escape; but when the ichneumon was brought near, it suddenly reared itself as if it recognised a mortal enemy, and spreading its hood hissed violently. The ichneumon had so little disposition to the contest that the people were forced to swing it to its antagonist by the string. The snake seized it twice by the back. The ichneumon did not appear harmed by the bite, but it became irritated, and advanced of its own accord to the cobra capella; the latter ceased hissing, and appeared to hold up its head as high as possible. The ichneumon sprang at it, and seizing

the closed jaws of the snake between his own brought its head to the ground. In that state, he must soon have killed the snake had he not been so solicitous to make his own escape, that he quitted it and endeavoured to run away. I think it must have been fear that made the snake keep its mouth shut when it was assailed. I have seen a snake of another sort kill a large rat by folding itself round the rat and squeezing it to death, and I had imagined that to be the procedure of all snakes in such contests; but the cobra capella never attempted it with the ichneumon. The latter was dragged forward again to the fight. The snake struck at it several times; yet, what appeared to me very extraordinary, never offered to bite it. The effort was a violent blow made with the head, of such strength as that twice when the snake missed the ichneumon the sound against the plaster pavement was very sharp. I nevertheless think the snake was in a capacity to bite, because he could open his mouth perfectly to hiss. The ichneumon's disinclination to repeat his attack was so decided that the combatants were restored to their respective baskets. I should have ascribed the impunity

of the ichneumon to the thick wiry hair with which it is covered, and which might have prevented the fang from reaching the skin; Dr. Reilly, however, assured me that he caused an ichneumon to be bitten on the inside of its thigh by a cobra capella, and that he doubted whether the trifling transient inconvenience which the ichneumon appeared to suffer was beyond what a simple pinch of the snake's teeth might have occasioned without the intervention of any poison. To satisfy himself that his experiment was correct, he repeated it with another cobra capella and another ichneumon. The result was the same.

August 11th.—This morning I presented the colours to the first battalion of the 29th Regiment raised here. We made the ceremony as impressive as possible. The sepoys pay great reverence to their standard. The staff of one of the colours belonging to a battalion which has been serving on the hills was broken just before the campaign opened, and the commanding officer had it replaced with a new one. The battalion suffered in two unfavourable actions; upon which the native officers came to the commander of the battalion,

and told him that the ill-fortune of the battalion had been foreseen, that there was not a man in the corps who was not convinced they should always be unlucky as long as the new staff was attached to the colours, and beseeched him to let the old one (which, from a presage of what had occurred, they had brought with them) be mended, and restored to its situation. The officer reasoned against their superstition, but judiciously acceded to their wishes, and the old staff, duly repaired, was reinstated to the infinite comfort of the battalion.

August 12th.—This being the Prince Regent's birthday, we had a parade of all the troops in the morning. In the evening I gave an entertainment to all the gentlemen and ladies of the station, with the Nawab of Furruckabad and his brother. The illumination of the garden within which our house stands was brilliant and really handsome. There were above 50,000 lamps. This decoration is not here expensive: the frames on which the lamps are hung are bamboos tied together with bits of fibrous bark. The lamps are little cups of half-baked earthenware. About two inches of a dried stringy grass are fixed upright in each of

the cups by a piece of moist clay, and then the cup is half filled with mustard-seed or Palma Christi oil. The natives manage this with great dexterity. We had fireworks, tolerably good, but not with the variety common in Europe. A supper closed the business, and luckily the evening was comparatively cool. The best part of the day's arrangement was a pardon granted to some of the convicts working in irons.

August 15th.—We had a representation of part of the adventures of Krishna. It is performed by boys, who are much extolled for their talent in the exhibition, and who at the time of the Hoolee attend the Court of Scindiah, and other native Princes, to display their ability in this religious dance. On those occasions there is a successive representation; the history being resumed every night. We were satisfied with a detached portion. The part selected by the youths was Krishna's pastoral residence with the Gopas or Nymphs. The boys who acted the parts of those rural beauties sang hymns in honour of the juvenile deity, and often tempted him to join in the dance with them. The dance consisted in floating

rapidly round a circle with the same step that is used in the waltz, only here each person goes singly. The inflexibly grave air of complacency affected by the representative of Krishna was remarkable. In the course of the entertainment he placed himself in the several postures in which one sees the images of the pictures of Krishna in the temples. Three centuries ago in England, representations of passages in the life of Christ formed part of the Christmas amusements in the residences of the nobility, and in other European countries the religious interludes have come down to a much later day. Whenever the intellect has not been expanded, a necessity has been felt by the priesthood for speaking to the eyes of the multitude.

August 19th.—The Nawab of Furruckabad and his brother came to breakfast that I might take leave of them. I gave to the Nawab a remarkably handsome double-barrelled fowling-piece, light enough to suit his youth. He said instantly, "A present from you is a mark of kindness which makes my heart exult, but the assurance you just before gave me of your continued protection was

incalculably more valuable." They are brought up to great readiness in these complimentary terms. To the younger brother I gave a pair of pocket pistols, and Lady Loudoun sent by them an elegant present to their mother.

August 20th.—We attended church for the last time. Our residence here has afforded the unusual convenience of divine service every Sunday, there being no chaplain attached to the station, and we have always had a good congregation. Mr. Metcalfe and Mr. Strachey took leave of us to return to their respective residencies. The former has told me that when the state carriage arrived at Delhi, the King was quite overjoyed, and anticipated the convenience he should find in being carried by it occasionally to his villa; his council, however, took the matter into serious deliberation, and their wisdom pronounced that not either the King or the Queen ought ever to get into the carriage. My present, therefore, is wofully thrown away. The principle of the decision is understood to be, that a carriage is the vehicle for folks of an humbler class, and thence beneath the royal dignity.

August 21st.—After dinner we embarked in our

boats, leaving with regret a number of individuals from whom we have received the most unremittingly polite attentions. It is not that civility alone which commands my regard for them. I have had the opportunity of observing narrowly the conduct of those persons in their several stations under Government, and I have been impressed with the strongest sense of their upright and active discharge of their duties. I have been long satisfied that under no other Government is there such incessant and laborious application to the business of the office. The humanity and justice towards the natives with which the functions are fulfilled, are no less exemplary. Where we fail is, in our want of any attempt to inculcate principles of morality into the natives, who are strangely destitute of any such instruction. This has arisen from a fear that we might excite in the people a supposition of our endeavouring to convert them to Christianity; but this jealousy could never arise from our putting into the hands of village schoolmasters small tracts of ethic injunctions extracted from the sacred books of the Hindoos. The Brahmins never make any exhibition of the sort to the lower classes, restricting

themselves to enforce a blind observance of ceremonies.

August 24th.—Having sailed from Futtehghur on the 22nd at daybreak, we reached Cawnpore this day about ten o'clock. We anchored close to Captain Gilbert's (the barrack-master), where Major-General Marshall and the principal officers of the station were waiting to receive me; I landed immediately, and fixed to see the Native Infantry under arms to-morrow morning. I thought it unnecessary to expose the European troops to the sun, nor would I order out the 5th Native Cavalry, as I had seen it before, and as it is extremely severe on horses to manœuvre in heat such as reigns at present.

August 25th.—We have had a handsome line of seven battalions in the field—namely, two battalions of Grenadiers, the King's 67th Regiment, the 1st battalion of the 16th Regiment, the two battalions of the newly raised 28th Regiment, and the Golandauzes. My object, besides looking at the condition of the troops, was to see whether the officers understood movements with so considerable a line. Everything was done most satisfactorily. Since

that, I have had a levee. Gave a dinner aboard the *Sonamukhee*.

August 26th.—I went at daybreak to the race-ground to see a trial of a piece of artillery which I had directed to be constructed. It had occurred to me that a howitzer, capable of receiving hand grenades of the larger size, might be made so light as that a camel could carry with ease the piece, and the particular kinds of carriage which I thought applicable to the purpose. I had made Colonel Grace come over to Futtehghur, that I might discuss the matter with him. In consequence of what we there determined, he has had a howitzer cast and mounted according to the plan. A single man can take it off the camel and put it together in three minutes. The trial has answered my utmost wish. The shells can be thrown one thousand yards; and I never in any practice saw less deviation from the line. The case shot for this gun consists of forty-four carbine-balls. It throws them, with an elevation of ten degrees, 300 yards, completely in a body. In short, the invention has answered perfectly. As the camels will carry this little ordnance with ease at the rate of forty miles

a day, this will be an important weapon against predatory parties. I am still more satisfied with my success in a trial to mount a twenty-four-pounder carronade on the carriage of a field twelve-pounder somewhat strengthened. This has stood proof thoroughly, and the carronade can thus be employed as a field-piece. Four bullocks draw it readily. Its shot will range nearly 2000 yards. Afterwards I gave audiences all the morning. Had a large party to dinner on board.

August 27th.—Attended church. Breakfasted at Captain Gilbert's. Afterwards I gave audiences to a number of individuals, than which nothing can be much less amusing. The object of each is to urge some little departure from justice in his favour. In truth, partiality has generally avowed itself in a very sturdy manner in the government of India.

August 28th.—Sailed from Cawnpore at day-break.

August 31st.—Having yesterday evening anchored about three miles above the fort of Allahabad, and there received the commandant, Lieutenant-Colonel Haldane, aboard my boat, we passed the fort this morning. The breadth of the Ganges

between Allahabad and Joosy, on the northern bank, is very considerable, and the stream rapid. The Jumna, itself a large river, is received into the Ganges at the point of the fort; this junction not only produces no apparent augmentation in the volume of water, but in less than three miles below Allahabad the river is obviously much diminished, but there is not either depth or current in this narrow part to account for this dwindling of surface. A great portion of the water must undoubtedly sink through beds of sand immediately after passing Allahabad; and that supposition will explain the strength of the stream at all periods abreast of the fort. I believe that this is not an uncommon occurrence in rivers, though not frequently noticed. The Trent, at Newark, has evidently lost much of the water which it shows at Nottingham.

September 2nd.—Anchored about three miles short of Sultanpore.

September 3rd.—Had divine service in the *Sona-mukhee*, after which we fell down to Sultanpore. Mr. Brooke, Mr. Salmon, Mr. Wilberforce Bird, and Mr. C. Harding, had come from Benares to meet us. They dined with us aboard, as did Major

O'Brien. Major-General J. S. Wood had also come to Sultanpore, but he was seized with an attack of the liver which confined him to the house. I went to see him this evening.

September 4th.—Reviewed the 8th Native Cavalry, commanded by Major O'Brien. The performance of this regiment has pleased me the most of any which I have witnessed of the native cavalry, though it is not so well mounted a corps as the others. Indeed the state of all these cavalry regiments does great credit to their officers. After the review we breakfasted with the mess, and then embarking fell down to Benares. Shums-oo-Dowlah gave us a salute of artillery as we came to anchor.

September 5th.—We went ashore very early to see the celebrated Observatory. Beyond the simple proof which it affords that astronomy was at one time successfully cultivated in this country there is little curious in it. The date of that proficiency in the science, referred to by it, is not remote. It is matter of great dispute whether it was built by a Hindoo Rajah or by one of the Mahomedan Emperors, which marks the period of its erection to

have been subsequent to the establishment of that dynasty. From the Observatory we went to the Mint, where Dr. Yeld had prepared for us a very interesting exhibition. In addition to all the processes of assaying and coining, he had collected a number of manufacturers of the finer articles of commerce to show how each was made. The extreme simplicity, and little cost, of the looms and other machinery employed for the most delicate goods, was peculiarly striking. After being much gratified with this spectacle, we proceeded to look at the minarets of the great mosque. They are high, and elegant in form; but they bear no comparison with the minarets of the Tâj. We got into our barge from the ghaut at the foot of the mosque, and as soon as we reached our pinnaces, weighed to continue our course down the river. I should not omit noticing the extraordinary narrowness of most of the streets through which we passed in Benares. Our palankeens could scarcely pass. The people were cheerfully respectful, to the great surprise of the magistrate and other gentlemen who accompanied us.

September 9th.—Moderate as is the distance

from Benares, a contrary wind blew with such force as to counteract all the effect of the current, and it was only this morning we reached Ghazipore. Lieutenant-Colonel Nicoll, commanding the King's 17th Foot, came aboard. I excused myself from landing till the evening. The Lieutenant-Colonel, some other officers, and Mr. Harding the collector, dined with me. After dinner, I went to look at about 450 young horses, bred at the Company's stud. They clearly evinced the improvement attained in the breed of horses by that institution. Nothing is so erroneous as the opinion entertained in England, that fine horses are common in India. Even middling ones are rare and high-priced. The ordinary run are of very inferior quality.

September 10th.—Attended church, or rather had divine service in the riding-house. Re-embarking by eight o'clock, we resumed our voyage.

September 13th.—The wind having been adverse, it was not till this day that we anchored abreast of Dinapore. Major-General Need, commanding the troops at the station, came aboard, with Colonel Watson, of his Majesty's 14th Foot, and several

staff-officers. I invited them to dine with me, and declined going a-shore this afternoon.

September 14th.—I reviewed the 1st battalion of the new-raised 30th Regiment of Native Infantry. The men were tall and smart, but very lathy. The habitual moderation of the natives in point of food is strikingly exemplified by the speedy alteration made in the appearance of those who enter the regular service. The punctuality with which they receive their pay allows them to indulge in ampler and more comfortable meals than their earnings from any kind of labour would admit, and they thence attain a degree of muscle and strength scarcely ever seen among the peasants.

September 15th.—Reviewed the 2nd battalion of the 30th Regiment. Both battalions are well grounded in their discipline. I had a levee at the mess-room of the 14th Regiment, to receive the native officers of the new regiments, and of a battalion of the 18th, having had a levee yesterday for the Europeans.

September 16th.—I rode to see the farm and establishment of Mr. Havel, about two miles from

the cantonments. Everything seemed judiciously planned, and kept in admirable order. The principle of this farm is to breed and support stock to supply a very extensive sale of cured meat; he furnishes a large quantity of this to Calcutta, as well as to the upper stations. Lately he has undertaken to make wine, and from the sample which I have tasted, I think there is every probability that he may produce it of good quality. About three o'clock I anchored off Hadjipore, a little way up the Gunduck river. The scenery was beautiful, there being some height of bank and consequent feature. The width of the river, and its turnings, give our anchorage the appearance of being in a large lake. There is not now much stream, though at times it is rapid. Between four and five o'clock I went ashore to inspect part of the stud, the object of my visit thither. The brood mares were what I had gone to see this afternoon. Those lately procured from Katywaur and Cutch were what pleased me best. The Arab mares, though they have elegant shape, are very slight; probably they are of inferior races. The Persian and the Jungle-tazees have more strength,

with good form. Those, however, which I first named unite more serviceable qualities than any of the rest. Having dined at eight o'clock with Mr. Moorcroft (superintendent of the stud) to meet a large party which he had invited from Patna, I returned to my boat to sleep.

September 17th.—I went ashore at dawn, and had a large number of colts and fillies, chiefly two-year olds, led past me. It was impossible to see them and not to be sensible how far the plan has answered towards introducing a better breed of horses into the country. It appeared to me that the stock got by English horses was clearly the most promising. After that, those got by a Katywaur horse, called Runjeet Sing, showed the best character. The progeny from Arab sires was not as good; probably because there is not in the mares sufficient size to correct the want of it in the horses. The system now proceeded upon is a judicious one. Mares are given from the stud to the zemindars, on their binding themselves to forfeit a certain sum if they sell the mare, or if she be stolen under circumstances justifying suspicion of connivance. The mares are to have the benefit of the stud horses

gratis; and Government is to have the refusal of the produce at one year old for a hundred rupees (12*l.* 10*s.*); it is obvious how much the extension of this plan must forward our object of securing a remount of horses sufficiently strong for the cavalry, so as not to be left to precarious dependence on neighbouring countries, which at best rarely send to us horses of adequate bone. It was late before this inspection was over. I had so much business on hand that I was forced to decline breakfasting with the company, and I got back to my boat. It is really interesting to compare the shapes of horses of such various races. The English horses were, beyond any doubt, the best. I have examined here about 600 horses of various breeds and crosses.

September 18th.—I went on shore at daybreak to look over Mr. Moorcroft's accounts, and in particular to ascertain the average expense of each mare introduced from the different countries whence we bring them. I bestowed shawls, as a complimentary acknowledgment of their zeal, on some individuals whom Mr. Moorcroft pointed out as having used peculiar exertion in forwarding his views. I then returned to my boat and sailed for

Patna. The wind being from the east, and the Ganges so low that there is little stream to counterbalance the breeze, we do not lose much by delay.

September 23rd.—The clouds in the east having for the last two or three days menaced the equinoctial gale, we had agreed to let it be spent before we should embark. This morning the gale came on with great violence. It was a fine spectacle to see its first burst upon the Ganges. Vast clouds of sand were whirled into the air from the banks which lay dry in the middle of the river. They appeared to be carried to a great height. Torrents of rain succeeded, and these showers have continued with little interval throughout the day. The intense heat which reigned before this storm came on has been very agreeably diminished.

September 24th.—We have had divine service at Mr. Campbell's, there being not even a temporary church here. Badness of the weather, which still continues, prevented many from attending.

September 26th.—There are still deluges of rain. Before this fall happened, the quantity had been greater than had almost ever been remembered.

In Tirhoot, the ordinary amount is thirty inches; but this year it had reached fifty. No injury to crops is apprehended from this additional drench. The principal part of the opium manufactured for the Company is raised here. The management of the poppy is troublesome for the cultivator; but he is well paid for his labour. The rich soil requisite for the advantageous growth of the plant is let by Government at a high rent; but advances of money are made by the opium agent to the cultivators, and though they are bound to sell the whole produce to Government, at a fixed price, I have calculated that they clear about 4*l*. 10*s*. on the English acre. According to the usual payment for labour, that is a large return for their care and exertions.

September 28th.—The weather having cleared, and the wind having come round to the west, we have this morning taken leave of Mr. Campbell, a host who makes his hospitality sit light by the frank and quiet manner in which he exercises it. There is a generous turn in that respect among all the servants of the Company whom I have seen; but there is a tact which can give distinction in

the observance of a kindness generally practised, and Mr. Campbell is fortunate enough to possess it. The breeze being fair, we made a run of about forty-three miles, and anchored off a village called Moah, near Derriapoor.

September 29th.—On account of some vessels which got aground on a sand bank, we have anchored earlier than we otherwise should have done, yet we have come more than fifty miles, and have passed the troublesome channels opposite Monghyr. The scenery has been fine, as we kept along the southern shore of the river, which is here about three miles broad. The rich plain of Bahar is so striking from its high cultivation, and so diversified with numerous mango-groves, that one does not perceive the absence of undulation. In approaching towards Monghyr, the Corruckpore hills alter the character of the country entirely. They are not magnificent; but to an eye long accustomed to the uniformity of surface along the upper banks of the Ganges, they afford a pleasing variety. The place at which we have moored our boats is about a mile above the hot well of Sittacoon, abreast of some hills which

appear composed of fragments of rock, and which are picturesque though completely bare.

September 30th.—We have run between fifty and sixty miles, and are anchored about a mile short of Colgong. Mr. Brook, the Governor-General's agent at Moorshadabad, is come with his wife and daughter, to meet us. He expatiates on the disappointment which will be experienced by the Nawab of Bengal at our not stopping at Rajemahl, where he has convened all his elephants to show us sport. Our time, however, presses so much that we cannot make even a day's delay.

October 1st.—Had divine service aboard the *Sonamukhee*, before we sailed. Afterwards we made a good stretch to Siclygully, where we have anchored.

October 2nd.—Having learnt that the current was stronger through the lower passage, between the Ganges and the Bangrutty, than through the cut by which in our way up we had entered the great river, we determined to avail ourselves of the advantage. We have therefore come four or five miles beyond the cut, and have taken up our station for the night on the north shore, bordering

on the plains of Gour. Though I am informed that the ruins of the ancient city present scarcely anything to interest curiosity, beyond their vast extent, we should not have failed to visit them had it been tolerably practicable. The plain, however, is at this season so covered with reeds and jungle grass, as well as in many places so soft from the rains, that even elephants would have difficulty in working through it. Of course, an expedition of seven miles, under such circumstances, could not have been undertaken.

October 3rd.—We quitted the Great River, and were soon beset by fakeers, who, rowed in boats by a couple of men, came off from the shores to solicit charity. In the upper country I have met with many an importunate beggar, mounted on a tolerable horse, and attended by a groom. We anchored not far from Dewanserai.

October 4th.—Passed Moorshadabad and Cossim-Bazaar, without landing. Anchored near the latter. One of our party saw a snake caught by a native belonging to the fleet, and mentioned to me the circumstances, which involve a point of natural history novel to me. The man was walking

in a field by the river, and my informant was close to him. A large cobra capella crossed the path; the man immediately ran towards it. The snake did not coil itself, but continued its retreat with its head raised eight or ten inches from the ground, and turned back. The man stooped, pausing for an instant, as if to fix the snake's eye with his own. He then suddenly seized the tail with his right hand, and raised it sufficiently to throw the reptile's head to the ground; then he slid the fore-finger and thumb of his left hand swiftly along the snake's back (drawing the animal back by the tail at the same time) till he pinched it just at the head. He next twisted the body of the snake round his left arm, and kept it firm by pressing the arm to his side. Having obtained a knife, he forced the snake to open its mouth, by pressing it at the angle of the jaws. He quickly took out the fangs; but he then proceeded to take out with the point of the knife, from just above the angle of the jaws, two substances, which my informant states to have resembled small pickled capers. The reason assigned by the man for extracting them was, to prevent the snake ever getting new fangs.

Can these glands—for such I suppose they were—placed at such a distance from the sockets in the jaw, furnish means for the reproduction of the poisonous apparatus? I am not aware that the existence of such glands has hitherto been suspected by our anatomists. As to the mode of catching the snake, I believe it to be so easy that nothing but confidence is required. There has appeared to me a remarkable want of agility in the cobra capella, and I even think some time is necessary to it for getting into a condition to strike. After the man had finished his operation on the snake, he suffered it to bite him without concern.

October 5th.—Passed Berhampore without landing, and anchored near Putolee. Heavy squalls to-day.

October 6th.—Advanced to near Santipore. Mr. Paton, Mr. Burney, and Mr. Barnett came off to dine with us. We had a violent squall, with heavy rain in the afternoon. It shows that the season is not yet broken up here, though it had decidedly changed at Patna when we left that place.

October 7th.—We reached Barrackpore, where

we found the buildings, which were to be completed in April last, still in an unfinished state. My children related to me with horror a circumstance which they had seen, and which my being occupied by writing in another boat had prevented my observing. As their pinnace descended close to the side of the river, they saw a wretched old man, whom three or four persons (probably his relations) had brought down to the shore. These people were holding the man's arms behind his back, and restraining his legs, while a Brahmin was smothering him, by filling his mouth and nostrils with mud. The poor wretch was struggling violently. It is likely that in the lassitude of disease, he had given way to the importunities of his tired family, and had consented to submit to this pious operation, which he did not find pleasant in the performance. The deed was done in broad day. So far was there from being any attempt to avoid observation, that the spot was quite public, and there was all apparent consciousness of rectitude on the part of those concerned in the perpetration of the act.

October 8th.—Had divine service on board the

Sonamukhee; after which we dropped down with the tide to within a couple of miles of Champaul Ghaut, that we might be certain of our time for to-morrow morning. It is requisite to land in ceremony.

October 9th.—We landed at six this morning; the members of council, chief justice, bishop, and a crowd of other public functionaries receiving us at the ghaut. The streets were lined by the troops to the Government House. There I had a public breakfast; after which I resumed my seat in council. There is an immense accumulation of business to be waded through; so that my occupation would be too little varied to afford matter for my journal for some time.

November 11th.—Received from Ceylon the news of the important victory gained by the Duke of Wellington over Napoleon at Waterloo. The guns of the fort have been fired, and we are planning a grand entertainment on the occasion.

November 27th.—I went to see the school and other establishments of the missionaries at Serhampore. Dr. Carey, Dr. Marshman, and Mr. Ward are the persons now conducting the concerns. They

are all men of learning and skilful in various sciences. Their activity appears indefatigable, and its effects speak highly in favour of their zeal and judgment. The plan of their school is, to educate at cheap rates the white or half-caste children of Europeans in indigent circumstances; but they likewise receive and breed up destitute orphans. The wives and daughters of the missionaries are the teachers in the female school. The good management of the school at large is manifested, not only in the proficiency and decorous behaviour of the scholars, but in the remarkable paucity of deaths which have occurred within the last seven years. The printing-house is conducted with great ability. The gentlemen showed to me specimens of the Scriptures in the languages and characters following:—Sanscrit, Hindostanee, Mahratta, Ooriya, Bengalee, Punjabee, Telinga Burmah, Cashmeer, Assam, Pushtoo, Beloochee, Carnatee, Brig Bhasha, Chinese, Persian, Tamul, Cingalese, Arabic, Armenian, and Malay. The missionaries make the paper and cast the types within their own establishment. It was striking to see the number of natives learned in those several tongues translating the

Scriptures into them. This is ordinarily effected by one of the missionaries rendering the English into some middle dialect which they mutually understand, whence it is turned by the Asiatic into his own language. One circumstance was very curious. Dr. Carey, the principal of the establishment, mentioned to me that the Affghans asserted themselves to be the descendants of expatriated Jews. In confirmation, he put the question in Hindostanee (that I might comprehend what passed) to an Affghan Moolavie, who distinctly maintained the fact as preserved by tradition among them. He was particular in distinguishing that they were Beni-Israel, not Beni-Jehoudah. The distance does not render it impossible that the tribes should have been marched from Palestine to Cabul; and from the remotest time we trace among the Asiatic despots the practice of removing whole communities from their ancient habitations to people some unsettled country. Making progress only part of the year and resting during the season unfit for marching, this multitude would be long in reaching its destination, but would ultimately effect it without having undergone much incon-

venience. The habit which we have witnessed in this country of large bodies living perpetually in tents, and migrating with their cattle and furniture, explains the facility of this operation. Any one who has seen the distribution of property and the nature of cultivation in India will readily comprehend how little burdensome the passage or the temporary halt of such a host (controlled, as we may suppose it, by officers appointed to guide its march) would be to the intervening territories.

December 11th.—An account has been detailed to me of a woman's having recently burned herself with the body of her husband, near Barrackpore. This is an event so very common as to produce no sensation in the neighbourhood, and it is by mere chance that any European, other than the magistrate, hears of it. To the latter information is given in the course of his business, but generally some days after the occurrence. Climate requires the corpse to be burned so speedily after death that there is no time for previous notice; and the magistrate only knows of it, when a woman sacrifices herself with the body, in consequence of the report from some of his native policemen, whose duty it

is to attend on such occasions that the woman may be rescued, should she appear to be acting under compulsion, or should she change her mind from fright. Cause for this intervention (the only degree of obstruction which our Government has thought allowable) has happened but very rarely. The merit and dignity of the act are so continually inculcated by the Brahmins, that these poor ignorant victims are bewildered by indistinct notions of piety and sublimity. The hapless creatures are peculiarly exposed to the operations of the delusive sentiments so studiously instilled into them. The charities of life are here so little exercised, or indeed comprehended, that a woman has, on the death of her husband, the most disconsolate prospect. The son's wife, or perhaps her own married daughter, becomes legally mistress of the house, and the widow, degraded into a kind of servant, is usually treated with tyrannical impatience as a burden on the family. The existence of the women is at all times dreary. They have none of that society with their nearest neighbours which cheers even the lowest classes in Europe. They have not either mental food or domestic occupation to fill

their time in their almost unbroken confinement within their dark, inconvenient dwellings. Their incapacity to instruct their children precludes the amount of resource which that would afford, so that their minds are in complete stagnation, and suffer all the irksome lassitude of such a state. A licit excuse for breaking forth from that torpidity is, therefore, to them a fascinating opportunity; and when they give way to the impulse, they do it with an exaggeration arising from their being unaccustomed to measure an exertion of their spirits. The death of their husband sanctions a vehemence of energy which is a relief to the saddened heart. The woman has been taught that it is praiseworthy to encourage herself in the intoxication, and she does so, enjoying too much the novel pleasure of it to look aside. In this temper she professes the resolution of immolating herself on the funeral pile. Should she recede when she has once made the declaration, the utmost degree of public shame and opprobrium attaches not only to the woman but to her family; so that her own dread of disgrace, and still more the instigations of her kin, will operate almost irresistibly to prevent

her from faltering. But she has in truth no time for her passion to subside. The preparations for burning the body of the deceased are very simple, and are made with the utmost dispatch. Often not more than two or three hours elapse. The intended ceremony is not frequently known in the next village, whence there is rarely any concourse of people at it. Should the woman's spirits appear to flag, she is aided by bang, or some other intoxicating drug. Indeed, I believe this is always administered, though in small quantity, that the credit of the victim's self-devotion may not be diminished by any apparent unconsciousness of what she is about. At all events, she perishes in complete absence of all reflection. It is visible that in this matter the Brahmins practise on the predisposition of the unfortunate creatures who are betrayed into this stupid and painful sacrifice. The policy is easily intelligible. The entire frame of the Hindoo doctrine displays the forecasting solicitude of the Brahmins to keep the other classes in a submission to them, more or less grovelling, as they could manage it. It has been a consequence well understood by priestcraft in all nations from the

earliest time, that if they could subjugate men to the admission of some signal violation of innate feelings as an act of piety, all minor prostration of sense would follow of course. An unqualified triumph over reason and sentiment in one instance rendered contest on subordinate questions idle. Hence arose the recommendation or the injunction of human sacrifices; and hence has flowed the encouragement or the enforcement of lesser, but still brutal, transgressions on our nature, when the paramount atrocity could no longer be reconciled to the mitigated ferociousness of a community. Let us bless our age and country; but let us also feel how much it is the interest and duty of man to define and disseminate the principles which bar the first steps towards these dreadful aberrations.

1816.

JANUARY 1st.—Never before did a year open to me with such chilling prospects. In a few days my wife and children, the only comforts by which I am attached to this world, are to embark for England. Nothing will remain to cheer me under unremitting and thankless labour; yet I feel a bond that will never allow me to relax in effort as long as my health will suffice. I at times endeavour to arouse myself with the hope that I may succeed in establishing such institutions, and still more such dispositions, as will promote the happiness of the vast population of this country; but when the thought has glowed for a moment it is dissipated by the austere verdict of reason against the efficacy of exertion from an atom like me. The Almighty wills it; it is done without the mediation of an instrument. The notion of being useful is only one of those self-delusions with which

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one works oneself through the essentially inept vision of life. . . . . I know the question has often forced itself upon us, ... how we can ever have brought ourselves to the determination of this parting, which, however called by each of us temporary, is by each of us felt to be probably final, though we do not let our minds define the augury. We perceive an indispensable duty to our children* which enjoins it. The relations which produce that very duty are only a part of that wonderful mechanism impelling all things in a direction incomprehensible, "while this muddy vesture of decay doth close us in." Intellect labours to unravel this till it sinks exhausted. How well is it said, "I thought to understand this, but it was too hard for me."

January 6th.—An extraordinary confirmation has just occurred of the persuasion entertained by

* His only son had been very ill on the passage down the river. Lady Loudoun returned to India alone in 1819.

me respecting the melancholy tone of life which is the lot of women in this country. The magistrate of Sarun has represented to Government the necessity of a police regulation for raising walls or wooden fences to a certain height round the wells in that district. At present, it is the habit of the country to leave the wells without any barrier whatever, so that at night a person may readily step by accident, or be pushed by violence into one of them. The magistrate states that in the course of last year seventy-seven bodies were reported to him to have been taken out of the wells, and in the preceding year the number had exceeded ninety; the extent of such casualties not having, probably, in either year come within the knowledge of his burkendauzes or constables. Of these cases, he asserts far the greater portion to have been suicides, indeed he conceives two-thirds of the number to have been undoubtedly so. Almost all of those whose death was deemed voluntary were women. This has happened in a district where there has been no uncommon occurrence, no interruption of the ordinary course of society—no

inroad of an enemy which could occasion despair in the poor wretches from loss of caste through violation. Some momentary impulse of vexation acting on minds sick of a—vapid nothingly existence has most likely been the cause of this strange circumstance. Incapacitated from mental resources by want of education and want of intercourse with others, at the same time debarred from corporeal activity by their inflexible customs, they feel so oppressive a void that the superaddition of any incidental disgust renders the facility of indulging despondency irresistible. The magistrate, with reason, thinks that such a barrier round the well as would require the lapse of a second or two to clamber over, might restrain many of these acts, by giving time for a suggestion of fear to intervene.

January 15th.—Accompanied my wife and children to the powder mills, eight miles from Calcutta, where we embarked on board the *Sonamuckhee*. Not arriving till night, it was judged best to remain at anchor till next morning.

January 16th.—The wind was so unfavourable,

and the tide so weak, that we could not reach Diamond harbour, where the *William Pitt* was lying. We anchored not far below Fultah.

January 17th.—I had now to bid adieu to all most dear to me, as there are ceremonies at Calcutta to-morrow (on account of the Queen's birthday) from which I cannot decently be absent. Prepared, as I was, I have been quite stupified at this fulfilment of our own determination, and I only feel the confused soreness of a blow the real mischief of which I have not recollection to appreciate. I am only conscious of its having been the resignation of every comfort . . . . . .

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How little an exercise of thought shows one the possibility, and thence enforces the certainty, that all apparently rigid destinations of the Almighty are kindness.

February 13th.—Our ordinances in this country have been generally instigated by some casual occurrence. In other countries, laws are only recognitions and enforcements of settled opinions of the community, and as these opinions are the result

of long observation and practical experience, there is little danger that an edict founded on them should be inconvenient to society. From the want of a comprehensive view in our system, many of our regulations, while they correct one evil, institute many sources of oppression. When we invested the zemindars with the proprietary right in the lands of which they were before the superintendents, it became necessary to secure to Government the regular payment of the rent reserved for the State; and for this purpose the law was established that, in the event of arrears to Government, the whole estate should be put up for sale, the residue of its produce (after Government should have paid itself) being restored to the zemindar. This was evidently framed upon a contemplation of the confined zemindarries near Calcutta. A detection of the mischief of this practice was one of the advantages arising from my tour up the country. Many of the zemindarries are of such extent that there can scarcely be any competition of bidders for them; but what is still more material, the native officers round the collector form such combina-

tions that purchasers are intimidated from coming forward; bankers are threatened if they attempt to aid the defaulter; and the estate is sold to one of the gang for perhaps a tenth of its value. If any man be suspected of endeavouring to get at the collector in order to open his eyes, a forged accusation of some criminal procedure is made to the magistrate against him, and is supported by perjured testimony. The individual is instantly imprisoned, and lies there till his turn for examination comes on the file, which may not be for many weeks. In the meantime the sale is dispatched. I communicated my remarks on this evil, but the correctives were insufficient. Attention is called anew to the case of a singular circumstance. Through a strange want of consideration in the collector, a frontier zemindarry, of at least twenty miles square was advertised for sale for an arrear of 700 rupees. The magistrate luckily heard of it, and stopped the procedure by paying the sum for the zemindar. We shall now put effectual guards against the abuse.

March 6th.—A curious circumstance took place

at Barrackpore this afternoon. A party from Calcutta being with me to pass three days here, some foxes were caught that the strangers might be entertained with a sight novel to them,—coursing with the siyah-gosh, or small hunting-lynx. The fox of India is not above half the size of ours, but is remarkably swift, and dodges with greater quickness than a hare. When turned out in an open space about 150 yards before the siyah-gosh, the fox was soon overtaken, and, as the agility of the siyah-gosh at turning is equal to that of the fox, the course was but of short continuance. Double the starting distance was, therefore, allowed to another fox. Its pursuer gained upon it rapidly; but, blown by the prolonged exertion, at length stopped and laid down in the sulky manner habitual to them when they are foiled in an attempt. The fox, which was at this time about 100 yards ahead of the siyah-gosh, after running a very little way further, turned round and began to bark, it then advanced to within thirty yards of the siyah-gosh, going round it and yelping. This appeared exceedingly like the fascination which is supposed to befal a

bird from fear on a serpent's fixing its eye upon it. We approached the parties, and the fox, though completely wild, did not make off till we were not more than fifty yards from them. The siyah-gosh did not show any disposition to make a second effort. The animal is, in these circumstances, so sullen and vicious that the keeper is obliged to occupy its attention with some chopped raw meat, in a long wooden spoon before he can get behind the siyah-gosh to slip the leash again through its collar.

March 30th.—A dispatch from our agent in Simoor, one of the largest hill territories rescued from the Gorkhas, announces a perplexing contingency. Kurrum Pershad, the Rajah of that country, who had been expelled by the Gorkhas, was so odious to the people, from the singular brutality of his character, that there was no imposing such a tyrant again upon the emancipated district, but wishing still to observe hereditary pretension, as likely to preclude future troubles, we raised his son (though yet a child) to the musnud, confiding the government during the minority to the mother, a woman of remarkable talents.

Kurrum Pershad is drooping under a slow but apparently fatal illness. The Ranee says that in the event of his death, though he has separated from her, and is residing at 200 miles' distance, she must burn herself. She does not talk of it as a matter of feeling, for her contempt and hatred of her husband were not disguised; nor does she even put it on the footing of religion, but treats it as a matter of mere decorum. The narrow scope in which thought is exercised by these people prevents this woman, comparatively clever, from perceiving that after the act she would not have any sense of having fulfilled this curious decency of life. The agent is directed to represent that her destroying herself would be so injurious to her son, and such a breach of her plighted faith to protect the country till he came of age, that she would entail on herself universal discredit. This consequence, which should be equally indifferent with the other, will, if strongly exposed to her, probably put a stop to her extravagant purpose.

April 13th.—The detail of an atrocious crime has been transmitted in the Report of the Circuit

Court of Moorshedabad. One Boolund Khan, a Mussulman, burned off both the hands of his own daughter, a girl of twelve years of age. The monster tied the child to a stake or post, bound her hands together, and then wrapt them in cotton, which he soaked in oil. Having set fire to the cotton, he continued supplying it with oil as fast as it was exhausted, till his diabolical purpose was completed by the entire destruction of both the poor victim's hands. His concubine assisted him in this horrid act, and probably instigated it. The severest punishment that could be annexed to such an offence, according to the Mahommedan law, has been adjudged against him. He is to receive twenty stripes with the korah (leather whip), and to be imprisoned for five years. The woman is to be imprisoned for two years. Now, imprisonment without labour, which could not in this case be ordered, is really no punishment on these people, who would desire nothing better than to be fed in idleness. It was my expedient to keep up the distribution of the civil law of the Mussulmans and Hindoos, because they were respectively acquainted

with the provisions, and squared their arrangements of property by them; but the upholding of the stupid and unequitable code of Mahommedan criminal law is a gross absurdity. Obvious as this is, there is great difficulty in altering a judicial system which the whole British magistracy of the country has been studying and administering for so many years; such an extent of evil does an original error entail! We have in Council settled on the wretched girl an allowance for life, which will maintain her comfortably.

April 15th.—I have this day read a letter from the Guntoor Sircar, on the coast, stating a very affecting circumstance. A village was surrounded by the Pindarries. The horrors perpetrated by these demons at other places made the poor villagers, totally unarmed and incapable of resistance, fly to the desperate resolution of burning themselves with their wives and children. The houses were all of wood and palm-leaf mats; so that most of them being set fire to at once, the dreadful sacrifice was immediately fulfilled. Some boys who had not the courage to bear the flames

escaped, and explained the circumstance. All the rest of the inhabitants perished; and I am strictly forbidden by the Court of Directors to undertake the suppression of the fiends who occasioned this heart-rending scene, lest I should provoke a war with the Mahrattas. Hundreds of women belonging to other villages have drowned themselves in the wells, not being able to survive the pollution they had suffered. All the young girls are carried off by the Pindarries, tied three or four, like calves on a horse, to be sold. By the Report of Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Hislop to me, the different columns which penetrated the Nizam's territories and ours, in this last irruption of the Pindarries, could not amount to less than 23,000 horse. They carried off booty to the value of more than a million sterling.

May 3rd.—We have received the news of an occurrence at Bareilly which is a striking proof in support of the representations made by me to the Court of Directors respecting the possibility of convulsions in their empire. It is difficult to make that Court understand that their territorial posses-

sions here are not precisely like an estate in Yorkshire, or that they are not to expect as blind a compliance with their instructions in the one case as they might in the other. What has happened will probably convince them of the existence of those dangers which they suspected to have been only held out by those in function here from the pride of keeping up great establishments. The Rohillas, who conquered the extensive territory in which the city of Bareilly stands, and bestowed on it the name of Rohilcund, were a tribe of Affghan Mussulmans. Their intolerance drove the greater part of the Hindoo inhabitants from the tract; but successive swarms from Affghanistan supplied the place of those fugitives, and kept the country in a high state of cultivation. The restless and enterprising character of the Rohillas led to constant encroachments by them on the possessions of the Nawab Vizeer. The latter, wearied with resistance, claimed our aid as his allies; and Mr. Hastings, actuated undoubtedly by a foresight of the consequences which might ensue from such an influx of Mahommedan soldiery into the territories,

within the Ganges undertook the war. The Rohillas were subdued; and their country was made over to the Nawab Vizeer; a portion of it, containing the city of Rampore with some dependent towns, being assigned to the heir of Hafez Rickhmet (the late ruler), as a jagheer which was to be held of Oude on feudal conditions. Subsequently the provinces in question were ceded to us by the Nawab Vizeer, and the fealty of the Nawab of Rampore was transferred to the British Government. A police arrangement had been directed by proclamation for all the large cities under the presidency of Fort William. A cess was to be levied on the inhabitants, apportioned by the person of principal note in each quarter or ward of the city, the produce of which was to support an establishment of city watchmen, under the exclusive appointment and control of the contributors to the fund. The rate on the highest scale of property was four rupees (ten shillings) a year, the general run from sixpence to one shilling, the lowest classes being wholly exempt. Marked distaste had been expressed by the chief inhabitants of Bareilly, on

the first mention of this impost, possibly from apprehension that it might pave the way for other taxes; but more probably from a mischievous spirit instilled into the multitude which only sought some opportunity for displaying itself. The magistrate used great calmness and temper, delaying the enforcement of the order, while he explained to the leading persons of the city the real motive of the plan. As its object was that the police officers belonging to the magistrate should be freed from the town duties, in order that they might be employed more actively in attention to the securities of the public roads, a purpose in which the inhabitants of the city were interested, on account of their trade, no less than the population of the villages, he flattered himself that his explanation would at least prevent any opposition.

On the day on which he had given notice that he would come into the town to regulate the establishment with the principal inhabitants, he found his way through the main street obstructed by a clamorous mob, at the head of which appeared the chief moofty, who, from age and station, had great influence. The magistrate, imagining he had gone

too far to recede without discredit and injury to the public service, ordered a few horsemen (who always attend the magistrates) to open the road for him, not even then apprehending serious resistance. As the horsemen advanced, they were assailed with spears, thrust at them from the shops, so that they could not proceed. Three of the horsemen were killed, and four wounded. On this the magistrate brought forward the infantry guard from one of the gates; but the mob disregarded the menace, and continued to defy the soldiers, till the magistrate was obliged to order them to fire. Six or seven persons were killed or wounded; among the latter was the moofty, though very slightly. The circumstance made him the more virulent, and irritated the populace. Though the mob dispersed on the firing, the magistrate saw that nothing was to be done, and soon after withdrew. That evening the people assembled in great numbers at a mosque outside of the town, hoisting the green or Mahommedan flag, as assuming it to be a religious contest. Next day, the Chief Judge of the Court of Circuit opened an intercourse with the people, and endeavoured to

allay the ferment. The mildness of the procedure was believed by the people to proceed from fear, they being well apprized of the scantiness of the force at the disposal of the public authorities. They, therefore, were insolent in their language and demands,—requiring not only a written engagement that the cess never should be enforced, but that the sepoys, who had fired by order of the magistrate, should be surrendered, to be put to death. The chief judge expostulated on the madness of these propositions, when suddenly the people took a more pacific tone, and there appeared hopes of accommodation. Another day passed in this sort of negotiation, but on the following morning the reason for the mitigated temper displayed by the insurgents was manifested. Their chiefs had sent to Rampore, and other considerable towns, for assistance. Every year large bodies of military adventurers come from Affghanistan to Rampore, as a station at which they can wait till their services may be hired by one or other of the native sovereigns, to whom they circulate offers. Of course, that city always contains a warlike multitude, ready for any enterprise. From Ram-

poré and the other parts of the country great numbers of armed men had been pouring into Bareilly during the night, and in the morning they showed themselves to the amount of about 12,000, drawn up in good order, all under green flags. Still, any violence appeared so doubtful, that the son of one of the judges of the Court of Circuit (Mr. Leycester) attempted to pass unarmed to the cantonment. He was seized by the insurgents and hacked to pieces. This murder was the signal for assault. Their line moved on rapidly against our handful of troops. Fortunately, 400 Irregular Horse had joined in the course of the night; before that, the force had consisted of less than 250 sepoys, with about 300 of the Bareilly provincial battalion, and two field-pieces. The insurgents suffered heavily from the grape-shot as they came down, yet their charge was so resolute that they actually took one of the six-pounders. The other was instantly wheeled upon the group which had got hold of the former, and a discharge of case-shot killed or wounded almost every man of them. The steadiness of the infantry, who were in the open plain without cover (an unjustifiable

management), repulsed every effort of the insurgents, and the cavalry charging them in flank rendered their rout complete. The daring manner in which the insurgents exposed themselves may be best judged by their loss, which could not be under 1500; ours was about 200. Reinforcements arriving to our troops within four or five hours after the action, all the auxiliaries deserted the Bareilly people, and entire submission was shown by the latter. Had the event of the contest been different, the whole of Rohilcund would have been in insurrection. They have undoubtedly depended on the support of Ameer Khan, to whom it is known the insurgents dispatched expresses. He has in his army about 12,000 troops from Rohilcund, so that his connexion with the country is strong; and one sees to what length the mischief might have gone had the issue of the first struggle been unfavourable to us; for, in that case, we should have had an extensive revolt against our authority under the character of a Moslem war. A consideration extremely embarrassing attends this question,—namely, how far we can with safety allow the continuance of the Nawab's separate jurisdiction

in Rampore. He was absent from the city on a hunting party when the reinforcements sent to Bareilly departed; but it must be doubtful whether that absence was not arranged for the purpose of avoiding the necessity for giving obstruction to the march of those auxiliaries.

May 10th.—This day the treaty has arrived by which the Nawab Vizeer has agreed to receive the little district of Khyraghur, with the lands adjoining to it, conquered from the Gorkhas, in liquidation of one crore of rupees of our debt to him. The rental of Khyraghur is 45,000 rupees, but from the constant depredations committed in the district by banditti (chiefly from the Vizeer's dominions) we have not, on an average, received 10,000 annually. The Gorkha lands are extensive and valuable, but in a situation which forbad their being any convenience to us. The arrangement, though essentially desirable for the Nawab Vizeer, could never have been made but through his wish to adopt whatever I recommend. This agreement enables me to assert that the Gorkha war has not cost the Company one single shilling.

May 27th.—A cobra capella was brought this

morning to the house at Barrackpore. In order to ascertain the rapidity with which its venom would act, a fowl was presented to it. The snake bit the fowl in the thigh. The fowl did not appear to suffer more pain than had it been seized by any other animal; and, having round its leg a string by which a man held it, sat down quietly in the same posture which it had used before being bitten. It did not appear agitated in any manner, but shortly seemed overcome with a stupor, and rested its bill on the ground. From a doubt whether it was much affected or not, it was gently touched with a stick, when it raised its head with briskness, and looked round in a natural way, as if nothing ailed it. The somnolency, however, immediately returned, its eyelids closed tranquilly, and it again rested its bill on the ground. In a few seconds it sank on its side without the least struggle, and in four minutes (by a stop-watch) from the time of its having received the bite it was quite dead, without having shown a single gasp or convulsion. The snake was not large, being under three feet long. Its back was broken, but perhaps the irritation arising from that wound might exalt

the quality of the venom, though the animal was in other respects enfeebled.

June 1st.—This day has brought to me the treaty of alliance by which Nagpore in fact ranges itself as a feudatory State under our protection. A singular contention of personal interests at the court of that country, resulting from the unexpected death of Ragojee Bhoosla, the late Rajah, has enabled me to effect that which has been fruitlessly laboured at for the last twelve years. Though dexterity has been requisite, and money has removed obstructions, I can affirm that the principles of my engagement are of the purest nature. Pursojee Bhoosla, only son of the late Rajah, succeeded to the musnud without opposition. He is blind, and thence used to remain unseen in the palace, so that he was in fact unknown. He was generally understood to be of weak capacity, but when his elevation gave people the opportunity of examining him, he was discovered to be literally an idiot. His cousin, Appa Saheb, an active sensible man, about twenty years of age, is presumptive heir to the musnud, Pursojee having no children. Through his natural pretension, and with as much

of assent as the Rajah could comprehend and testify, Appa Saheb was called to the guidance of affairs as minister. Aware that there is a strong party against him in the palace, he feared that Pursojee might be made to adopt a son, which, according to Mahratta institutions, would cut out Appa Saheb. The latter had to apprehend that this would be a machination of Scindiah's with the women of the palace, and those apparent dependents who really guide them; and he foresaw that in such an event Scindiah would support the adopted child with troops, in order to acquire the rule over Nagpore.

Under these impressions, Appa Saheb was not difficult to be worked upon. He is confirmed in his legitimate power, and he is ensured against the adoption by my professing to consider Pursojee incapable of the volition necessary to the act. This is most strictly true, for the poor Rajah has no will or wish beyond eating and sleeping. The security, therefore, to Appa Saheb is only simple justice. I believe the advantage of our having thus converted Nagpore from a very doubtful neighbour into a devoted friend is universally felt here;

yet the whole extent of the gain will not be thoroughly computed. The arrangement enables me to leave unguarded above three hundred miles of frontier, for which I had difficulty to allot defence; it totally oversets the plan at which Scindiah has been secretly working for inducing the Peishwa to re-establish the Mahratta confederacy; it deprives Scindiah of troops and treasure, on which he calculated in all his hostile speculations; it gives to me, by the junction of Colonel Doveton's corps with the Nagpore forces, an efficient army on the open flank of Scindiah's country; and it renders the interception of the Pindarries, should they venture another inroad into our southern territories, almost certain. I regard this event as giving me the fairest ground of confidence that I shall be able to achieve all I wish to effect for the Company's interest without any war. This rests on our presumption of the Peishwa's fidelity. If he be treacherous (and there is no answering for a Mahratta) we might have a struggle; but the consequence of such a contest could not now be doubtful, and it would only make the ultimate arrangement more beneficial to the Company.

June 3rd.—Captain Caldwell, one of my aides-de-camp, has communicated to me a circumstance strongly characteristic of the lower classes in this country. The bearers or carriers of palankeens in Calcutta are chiefly from Balasore, and keep up among themselves certain rules. One of Captain Caldwell's bearers lent to the head bearer of another gentleman all his little savings from his wages, being to receive an interest. Finding the interest was not forthcoming, the lender desired that the principal should be returned; there being no witness or written document of the loan, the head bearer stoutly denied the loan. The other apprized him that, if that plea were maintained, he (the lender) would put himself to death, which would force the head bearer to do the same thing for the establishment of his veracity in the denial. The head bearer was obstinate. On this the lender went to his master's stable, and was some time after found hanging quite dead. The head bearer was now called upon by his fellows to purge his honour from the imputation fixed upon it. No argument, however, could persuade him to hang himself, and the rest of the bearers look upon him

as a perverse and discredited wretch for declining so rational a mode of vindicating his integrity.

June 11th.—A vexatious delay in my political objects has occurred from the laxity of the Jyepore Rajah. He had been harassing us early in the year with importunate supplications to be taken under the protection of the British Government on the terms of a subsidiary treaty. Our occupation in the Gorkha war prevented my acceding to his wishes lest Scindiah should oppose the alliance, and hostilities be inconveniently excited in that quarter. After the termination of that war, the distresses which the Jyepore Rajah had been suffering from the exactions of Ameer Khan in those territories augmented formidably, and at length the Rajah, forced to confine himself to his capital, witnessed the preparations of Ameer Khan for besieging him in that city, his last refuge. In these circumstances the Rajah renewed his petition. It was favourably met, and Mr. Metcalfe, the Resident at Delhi, was directed to settle the terms with the vakeels whom the Rajah was to send for the purpose. The conditions were agreed upon; but as the case pressed, Ameer Khan having

actually invested the city of Jyepore, I had in the meantime ordered a force to assemble at Rewarry, on the Jyepore frontier. The Rajah availed himself of this to proclaim that the treaty was signed. Ameer Khan had brought about 200 pieces of cannon for the siege. Fearing that he should not be able to withdraw them if the division from Rewarry moved rapidly forward, he thought it best to retire betimes. He accordingly fell back about twenty miles. The stupid Rajah felt such an emancipation from immediate peril in this, that he despatched an express to his vakeels with orders not to proceed with the treaty. The instructions reached them a few hours before the time they had fixed for the formal execution of the document, the several articles of which had been all previously agreed upon.

Mr. Metcalfe, though justly indignant, has repressed all show of anger, only directing the vakeels to obtain from their master an explicit declaration whether the negotiations were or were not to be considered as entirely done away. In the case that they were to be regarded as finally broken off, the Rajah was to be apprized that in

no extremity of his fortunes should he ever have assistance from the British Government. This procedure of the Rajah's is very embarrassing. I cannot embark for the Upper Provinces while this matter is in suspense; yet this would be a moment of singular advantage for my appearing with a large body of troops in the vicinity of Scindiah's frontier. The defalcations from his calculated resources by the loss of Nagpore must alarm him exceedingly. Were I in the neighbourhood, it is impossible that he should not come forward with amicable overtures, in order to avert what he would contemplate as an impending storm, and his co-operation in the extinction of the Pindarries might be readily made a condition in a pacific arrangement between us. The conduct of the Jyepore Rajah shows with how short a forecast these native princes act, and may explain how they have successively sunk before our steady policy.

July 1st.—Passing up to Barrackpore, a gentleman who accompanied me pointed out a place where, six or seven years before, he had seen a woman burn herself with the corpse of her husband. The spot was on the bank of the river, from which

to the public road, or rather street, the distance was not more than one hundred yards. The place, a sort of suburb to Calcutta, and each side of the road is occupied by carpenters' shops or sawyers' sheds. On the side nearest to the river these huts are not so close together as to impede considerably the view of the space behind them. My informant was travelling along the road when his attention was caught by the preparation of the pile. Learning on inquiry what was going forward, he got out of his buggy and proceeded to the spot. The woman who was about to burn herself was old. A few Brahmins attended her, but in so public a place there were not above fifty persons, and most of these children, who had the curiosity to witness the scene. The woman appeared unagitated. She probably was prepared with intoxicating drugs, as she seemed in some degree stupid, though she went through the ceremonies correctly. When she was placed on the pile, a large cloth like a sail was spread over her, and the Brahmins kept her from moving by every two of them holding each end of a bamboo across her body. The dry straw heaped over the sheet, together with the smoke, prevented

any struggles being perceived, and the shouts of the Brahmins rendered any groan or scream of the victim inaudible. Scarcely any of the sawyers or carpenters had left their work to look at what was doing. The provisions of Eternal Wisdom are all so simple (and in that consists their sublimity) that often nothing presents itself to fix one's thoughts upon the impulse and the effect, when the moral influence is as irresistibly operative towards the end as the most marked phenomenon of nature. Among many visible dispensations of Providence for checking excess of multiplication in all classes of animated beings, we may observe that wheresoever population is great, a general apathy about existence seems to take place; so that the indifference of the individual respecting his own life, or that of others, tends by a silent but sure consequence to counterbalance production. It is to be noticed that this indifference does not appear to be the result of any reasoning, but probably arises from the succession of petty disgusts, suffered in the jostling of crowded society. In an accumulation of numbers, the appendages which each individual introduces for his own advantage in the various trades, arts, or

courses of life pursued, present many perils. Noxious processes, poisonous materials, or dangerous machinery, become traps for the incaution and ignorance of others, in proportion as the density of population compresses residence more closely. This is a perpetual check on increase. But it is a provision quite distinct from the other to which I have above alluded.

August 14th.—I have received a curious account of indisputable accuracy respecting the Garrows, a populous nation inhabiting an extensive tract of hill country bordering on our north-east territory and on Assam. They are divided into many independent communities, or rather clans, acting together from a principle of common origin, but without any ostensible head of their league. With them all property and authority descends wholly in the female line. On the death of the mother, the bulk of the family possessions must go to the favourite daughter (if there be more than one), who is designated as such without regard to primogeniture during the lifetime of her parent. The widower has a stipend secured to him at the time of marriage. A moderate portion is given to each

of the other sisters. A son receives nothing whatever, it being held among the Garrows that a man can always maintain himself by labour. The woman acknowledged as chief in each of the clans is called Muhar. Her husband is termed Muharree. He is her representative in all concerns, but obtains no right in her property. The clan will interfere if they see the possessions of the Muhar in a course of dissipation. If a daughter be the issue of the marriage, a son of the issue of the Muhar's father is sought in preference to become her husband; and in default of such a person, the son of the nearest female relation of the Muhar (he being of due age) would stand next for selection. The husbands to the sisters of a Muhar are called Lushkurs, and it is a denomination to which a notion of rank is attached. These families always endeavour to intermarry within their own clan if possible, otherwise by inviting the son of a Lushkur from a neighbouring clan. The son of a Muhar, or of a Muhar's sister, is similarly sought from another community when a fit husband for the Muhar's heiress cannot be found in her own clan. The wealth of the Mu-

hars is considerable, and they have a real power from the number of their slaves. These are either bought, or individuals sentenced for crimes, or the progeny of those in such servitude. By means of these the Muharree enforces that degree of obedience which the usages and opinion of the clan have established as due to the Muhar. The hills are not in that part abrupt or steep, while their being covered with wood affords many conveniences to the inhabitants. The villages are frequent, wide, and rich. Much industry, with sufficient skill, is exhibited in the cultivation of the soil, so that the country exports annually a large quantity of grain, cattle, and hogs. This information has been acquired in consequence of a complaint from one of our frontier zemindars that the Garrows had invaded his lands, burned his villages, and murdered a number of his people, to punish which aggression he solicited that a detachment of troops might be employed. It did not seem likely that this outrage should have been committed without provocation, though the zemindar stated it so. Therefore, before I would send troops to chastise the Garrows, I despatched

a commissioner to inquire into the case. He found that the zemindar had lawlessly exacted imposts on every article of the hill trade, and by disregarding repeated remonstrances entailed this severe infliction.

The principal of the neighbouring Garrows who met the commissioner on his invitation to them, avowed and justified the conduct they had held, saying that as they could not get at the zemindar himself, they were forced to make his people feel the iniquity of his conduct. The commissioner instructed them in a better mode of redress than this wild justice, by teaching them how to convey their complaints to the nearest British magistrate should any similar occasion arise, and the zemindar has been threatened with the forfeiture of his zemindarry should he ever again attempt to levy duties altogether unauthorized by this Government. It was in the course of these communications that the commissioner learnt from the Garrows, who are very unreserved, the particulars which I have minuted.

September 6th.—Two young women have been executed near Hooghly for murdering a little girl.

Their only motive for the horrid act was, that they might possess themselves of the paltry ornaments which the poor child wore. We are apt to connect with age a notion that the feelings are blunted, and one should thence have been less surprised to hear of the commission of such a crime by an old woman than by two females in all the bloom and glow of youth. The real difference is, that in early life the same value is not set upon property, so that the same appetence for an article of no considerable price would not be natural. I record the circumstances here, because it is the best anwer to those who maintain that you should leave the Hindoos to themselves, and not endeavour to disseminate instruction among them. If one feels one's moral sense outraged by the perpetration of an atrocious deed immediately within one's knowledge, we have an interest in the prevention of such acts; but if there be superadded a consciousness that indifference to the prevalence of crime is a sin in government, it becomes a duty to reflect in what source the frequency of such guilt originates. In the present instance the murderers were not wretches instigated by want or savage from a

long course of depravity. They were women of the same rank and of the same village with the child which they killed. Their act proceeded from their having no conception of the brutality and wickedness of what they were about to do. This deficiency in all estimate of social obligation is general throughout the population of Bengal. Its consequences disgust one at every turn. And one hears, "Why can't you let the poor people go on in their own way?"

September 14th.—We have had a singular communication from our Resident at Katmandhoo. The Gorkha ministers waited upon him, and with great apparent uneasiness told him that a large Chinese army, commanded by a Che-Cheon-Choon (an officer of high rank and unlimited power), had arrived at Lassa, and was proceeding to their frontier. The Resident apprized them it was what the Governor-General had known, and he further informed them that we were acquainted with their having caused the advance of this army by having represented to the Emperor of China that we had solicited a passage through Nepaul for our troops in order to invade the Chinese dominions, and that

their refusal to grant the passage was the motive for our attack upon them. The ministers, without any hesitation, acknowledged their having made such a statement, and said that as they supposed we should find means of undeceiving the Chinese Government, they (the Gorkhas) had to apprehend the indignation of the Emperor. The Resident assured them that the explanation had been already received by the Che-Cheon-Choon from us through the Rajah of Sikhem. They replied that they took it for granted it would be so; that the consequence would probably be an attempt on the part of the Chinese to punish them for the imposition; and that they were thence anxious to know whether we should take the opportunity of renewing hostilities in that event. On the Resident's expostulating with them for harbouring the thought that we could deviate from the amity which we had plighted in the treaty, they showed unreserved satisfaction, saying they could not be sure that we might not think it justifiable to punish them for a false charge against us, of which we were ignorant when we signed the pacification. Their ready admission of the lie they had used is curious.

They professed, as they were now satisfied we should not undertake anything against them, that they did not mind the Chinese; yet they should send a deputation of their principal persons to conciliate matters, and prevent the mischief of a new war in their country. This led the Resident to observe that they need not be uneasy, as the passes across the Himalaya mountains must be easily defensible against any army; but they answered that there were gaps through the hills of such breadth as to make the entrance into their country from that quarter practicable at any season for the largest columns. They described the route to be through wide valleys, with little inequality of surface.

October 11th.—A dreadful inundation has taken place at Bheerboom. A river which comes down from the hills, was banked up on both sides with mounds of great height and thickness, to prevent its casual overflowing from injuring the cultivation of the country. The showers fell scantily during the rainy season, but of late they have been uncommonly heavy; in consequence the river became so swollen as to burst its banks in many places. The

torrents have swept away a great number of villages with their inhabitants, and cattle to an immense amount have been drowned. We have directed the public functionaries to distribute money for the present support of individuals who have survived the wreck of their property. The system of embankments must be always liable to produce these accidents. Canals, easily cut in such a country, which would be extraordinarily useful in common seasons, would safely carry off by a gradual discharge the water so dangerous in a state of accumulation.

October 12th.—Fresh solicitations for an alliance have just reached us from the Jyepore Rajah. He states the rupture of the negotiations to have been altogether a mistake on the part of his vakeels, asserts that his anxiety for the league had never faltered, and implores that the negotiations may be renewed. Notwithstanding these professions, I still suspect him. I think he wants to have the appearance of being in treaty with us, because he imagines that it would check the projected enterprises of predatory powers, but I believe he shuns the putting himself so decidedly under the rule of

the British Government as would be the consequence of a subsidiary alliance. I have directed him to be informed, that as an act of special indulgence I would suffer the treaty agreed to by his vakeels to be considered as open to his acceptance and signature, but that I could not allow any new negotiation. This will bring the matter to a point.

October 13th.—I observed this day from a window of the Government House, a column of sand raised to a very great height on the road near the course by a whirlwind; it preserved its form unbroken from the bottom to the top, yet it must have been exceedingly thin, as the sand or rather brickdust of that road is as fine as possible. I observed a small round white cloud just above it, and have no doubt of that cloud's having produced the effect; I noticed a similar cloud over a column of dust or sand in the Upper Country, yet I could not perceive in either case such an apparent descent of a part of the cloud as takes place in the elevation of a waterspout. The principle of the phenomena seems to be the same. I suspect that there is in the waterspout much less liquid than is ordinarily supposed, and that it is a very thin

film of water whirled round a large empty cylinder.

October 19th.—A serious expostulation has been made by this Government with the Peishwa. That worthless favourite, whom we had confined for the murder of the Guickwar's minister, when the latter had come to Poona on the pledge of our protection, and who escaped from that confinement, has been privately corresponding with the Peishwa; and the latter has been (secretly as he thought) raising troops. Our knowledge of these levies was intimated to the Peishwa, and the danger he was incurring was frankly stated to him. After much discussion he promised solemnly to disband the levies, and to surrender the favourite, Trimbuckjee Dainglia, should the latter put himself in his highness's power. The assemblage of force is stopped, but the profession respecting Trimbuckjee Dainglia is nugatory. These native princes have all a curious mixture of the frowardness and inconsequence of children, with a dexterous cunning and a daring spirit of enterprise. The frequent recurrence of these discussions, any one of which may produce extensive flame, is a matter not at all comprehended

at home, where the tranquillity of India is imagined to depend wholly on our pleasure. This attempt at armament by the Peishwa is not unconnected.

October 26th.—A proposition has been made to us from the Madras Government, that they should be authorized to undertake the administration of the State of Kirnool, allowing to the Nawab its chief a certain income out of its revenues. The late Nawab was our feudatory, bound as such to have no relations with any other power, and to maintain a certain number of troops for our service. In his internal government he was to be quite independent. On his death, the second son seized the capital (a strong fortress), and ascended the musnud. We upheld the pretension of the eldest son, who happened to be at the time within our territories, and furnished him with a body of troops to recover his rights. Through operations skilfully conducted by Colonel Marriott the fort was reduced, and the eldest son established in his hereditary possessions. It does not seem a natural consequence of this arrangement that the Nawab, without the surmise of any misconduct urged

against him, should be deprived of his authority and of his revenues, except as to such portion as we might munificently leave to him. This is a remnant of the old system, in which our convenience was the only influencing principle. It is evidently an unjust principle when no real necessity can be pleaded, but I am further convinced that it is a thoroughly impolitic course. The confidence of each State that it may depend on your justice would produce a general submission to your strength; because that strength would then be a security to every chief against rapacious neighbours, and would be upheld from a sentiment of common interest. I am proceeding on this plan with a success most gratifying to me; and we have directed an observance of it towards the Nawab of Kirnool.

November 8th.—When the Nepaulese found our arms prevailing over them, they sent to the Emperor of China, representing that the British had requested permission to pass across the Nepaulese territories in order to attack China, and that on their refusal of that licence we had waged war on them, and had subjugated part of their country. This appears to have occasioned great sensation

at Pekin. A person of high rank was despatched immediately with a large army to Lassa, with the title of Che-Cheon-Choon, which, we are given to understand, implies unlimited power in both the civil and military lines. The Sikhem Rajah, who, from having smarted under continual aggression, was very hostile to the Gorkhas, learned this circumstance, and offered to transmit to the Chinese army any letter in which we might think fit to repel the falsity of the Gorkha statement. Captain Latter, political agent on the Rungpore frontier, was directed to address a letter to the Che-Cheon-Choon, detailing the real circumstances of the war, and referring to the Sikhem Rajah for the accuracy of the explanation. We have this day received the answer which the Che-Cheon-Choon returned to Captain Latter. It is a very sensible performance. He states that there is an air of verity in the recital which commands conviction; besides which, the Sikhem Rajah has borne testimony to the manner in which the war was forced upon us. But, above all, his own knowledge of the lying character of the Gorkhas disposed him to yield implicit confidence to all we advanced on the subject.

He desired it to be understood that all was well between the Chinese and the English, which latter were a wise and moderate people, never assailing others without provocation; but that he should heartily punish the Nepaulese for having dared to practise upon the Shadow of Heaven (the Emperor) with false stories. The Sikhem Rajah, with singular simplicity, observes that although the matter is thus courteously settled, the occurrence will make the Chinese revise the state of their connexions on the frontier. In consequence, he foresees that he shall be exposed to harassing oppressions and hostilities unless he proceed at once to make his election between the Chinese and British Governments, declaring himself feudatory to one or other of them. He adds, that the good faith and generosity of the British leave no room for hesitation in the choice, and he desires to be enrolled as a dependent on the British Government. This relation with him, which we never could have imposed by force of arms, from the extreme difficulty of his country, may be of great use, from the communication which it ensures by way of Thibet with Pekin.

November 10th.—A very extraordinary despatch is received from our minister at Katmandoo. It is a detail of the communication made to him by the Gorkha ministers, of their settlement with the Che-Cheon-Choon. They admit that they treated their mission with considerable haughtiness and sneering incivility; but they appear satisfied with his having professed that he pardoned them in the name of the Emperor for the false statement which had put his Majesty to the trouble of sending an army. There is strange contrariety in the character of these people. In some things they are tenacious of points of honour to the most punctilious degree, while in a case of this kind they have no shame in acknowledging to us their having been publicly reprobated for a profligate lie. We have had the account of the audience from a minister of the Sikhem Rajah's, who had been instructed to witness it. He asserts that the Che-Cheon-Choon treated the bahradars with contemptuous levity, not suffering them to sit down before him, and twitting them with their absurdity in believing that they could make head against the English. He made them engage to send a mission

to Pekin every year, to do homage to the Emperor.

November 15th.—It is very pleasing that each succeeding year diminishes the number of offences committed within our provinces, notwithstanding that few can now escape being put on the list, whereas many used heretofore to be perpetrated without being so ascertained as to come within the knowledge of the magistrate. Our rule has certainly augmented the amount of human comfort in an extraordinary degree. The effect is perceivable in an increase of population very surprising. It is to be admitted that our estimate of the number of inhabitants has hitherto been very loose, from the habits of the people, which forbid any stranger, even a native officer, to enter a house. Latterly we have directed the magistrates and collectors to specify the number of cities, towns, and villages in their respective districts. This was, of course, upon record, on account of the quit-rent payable by each of those assemblages; but the functionaries were required to mention what they would compute to be a fair average number of houses, after throwing the cities and large towns into the scale, for each of those settlements. After receiving their calcula-

tions, which appear to have been carefully and cautiously made, the result gives, for the Lower Provinces, the enormous population of more than seventy millions. The Lower Provinces are bounded by the Soane river, south of the Ganges; by the Gunduck, on the north of that river; stopping short of Benares and its subordinate districts. The Upper Provinces contain a much greater surface, but not so thickly studded with villages, though far more populous than any part of Europe. How is it that we maintain sovereignty over this immense mass? By equity solely, which may have proceeded in some degree from consciousness of inability to maintain a position on other terms, but which surely speaks highly for the honourable feeling predominant in the mind of almost every one educated in our country.

December 17th.—It is surprising how frequent are the occurrences in this country which bring home to the mind irresistible refutation of the hypothesis maintained by some able men in England, that it is inexpedient to enlighten the lower classes. Their assumption is, that by letting men in humble station see too distinctly the advantages of higher

positions in life, you make them discontented with their natural occupations, and ready to seek melioration of their condition by violence, while you further vitiate their minds by enabling them to question the principles of that tranquil morality in which prejudice and habit would otherwise constrain them to walk. In the first place, the passions of the multitude are not in any country to be restrained, but by the conviction of each individual in the mass that there exists a force ready to control him if he proceed to turbulence. This curb, however, will assuredly be less necessary over a community where the discriminations between right and wrong are well defined and generally understood. In respect to public tranquillity, therefore, great benefit is gained by disseminating instruction. With regard to the imagined morality attendant on narrow information, every day's experience here contradicts the notion. Nowhere is the perpetration of horrid acts more frequent than in this country, though the natives are mild in character, and urbane towards each other in manners. Their crimes arise from the want of any principle which

can correct impulses of revenge, jealousy, or cupidity. The observation is excited by a communication just received from the magistrate of Cawnpore. For some time past, several native officers and sepoys of our troops have been missing; they had proceeded on leave of absence, singly and unarmed, as was customary, to their homes; which homes, however, the inquiries instituted from their overstaying their term, proved them never to have reached. Much investigation was fruitlessly made on the subject. At length, a man taken up for some crime, offered to put Government in possession of a clue to the business, were he promised liberation. The pledge being given, he directed the search of the magistrate to certain wells, in which the bodies of thirty-four of our sepoys were found. These had all been murdered in crossing the district of Cawnpore, in the heart of our territories. It is matter of universal notoriety, that when a sepoy gets his leave of absence, he has the indulgence of lodging with the collector of the zillah where he has been stationed, any little sum which he has scraped together, and of receiving an order for the amount on the collector

of the zillah nearest to his home; so that the murderers could hope for no spoil beyond the trifle which the individual carried for the purchase of his daily food, or at least something too unimportant to have been deemed by the owner worth the trouble of securing by a bill. We have learned that the assassins came from Moorsaum and Hattrass. Those are strong fortresses belonging to the Talookdars, Bhugwunt Sing and Dya Ram. Talookdar in the Upper Provinces, is the same as Zemindar in Bengal. When these territories were ceded to us by Scindiah, we unaccountably left those Talookdars in the enjoyment of forts and garrisons, which might have been necessary for any man of considerable property in the tumultuous state of a Mahratta community, but were useless and incompatible under the regularity of our Government. The consequence has been, repeated complaints by our magistrates and collectors against these Talookdars, for their protection of all kinds of lawless adventurers, who paid high for the protection, and plundered the neighbouring districts to have the means of so paying. Our Government, discouraged by the great strength of

the fortresses, has always unbecomingly evaded the question.

December 23rd.—The ravages of the Pindarries in the Ganjam district, with the consequent danger of Cuttack, and the extent of depredation committed by these atrocious banditti in the territories of our ally the Nizam, have at length induced my colleagues to take a step which would have been of infinite importance six weeks earlier. They declare themselves now ready to record an unanimous opinion that the extirpation of the Pindarries must be undertaken, notwithstanding the orders of the Court of Directors against adopting any measures against those predatory associations which might embroil us with Scindiah. No step could be taken for the suppression of those gangs which would not have a tendency to involve us in hostilities with Scindiah and Holkar, who regard the Pindarries as their dependents; therefore, with the most decided notion as to what honour and interest advised, I could not undertake an act in the teeth of the Court's prohibition, when I had to apprehend that there might be opinions recorded in Council against its necessity, or even policy. To draw the full

benefit from the fortunate sentiment now expressed by my colleagues is not practicable immediately. Before I could assemble the different divisions requisite for expelling the Pindarries from their fortresses, and for, at the same time, overawing Scindiah, the hot winds would be at hand; and I dare not expose to such a season our troops, which, native as well as European, have been singularly debilitated by the most severe and extensive epidemic fever ever known in India. The 87th Regiment alone has buried above one hundred and twenty men. I shall, however, avail myself of this declaration of Council to pin Scindiah to one point or the other. It is far better, if he be resolved to risk his existence for the support of the Pindarries, to place him in the condition of an armed enemy. In an open war, there is a termination in prospect; but supposing Scindiah to be secretly identified with the Pindarries, the kind of war now waged against us might go on for years without approaching any decisive issue. The resolution of suppressing the Pindarries shall be communicated on my part to Scindiah, and the question shall be put as to the conduct he will in that event observe. I have

been meditating a shooting excursion (which my health much requires) to the neighbourhood of Gour; and these circumstances will confirm me in that purpose. Scindiah will understand the readiness with which I could reach the upper country by dawk from Gour; he will over-refine, and regard my expedition as planned merely to secure to myself that convenience; and he will have the notion (not altogether groundless) that there is a state of preparation requiring him to be temperate and compliant.

dostanee, as the book for those classes also. The compilation was put into the hands of some of the principal natives at Barrackpore, who approved it earnestly, and communicated the tenor of it throughout the neighbourhood. The consequence is, that the most anxious interest is made to get boys admitted into the school, and the children of Brahmins are among the most solicitous. The progress made by the boys is very striking. There are many who read English with fluency. I made some of them construe the English into Hindostanee, to see if they really understood what they were reading, and I was surprised at their accurate conception of the meaning and force of the phrases. A sepoy grenadier, who was allowed by me to study as a supernumerary (being the son of a native officer), has made wonderful progress; he writes English copies even elegantly. I desired him to tell me what was inculcated by the story which he was reading, and he said it was that kindness to the weak or destitute was what God required from the strong, and that a neglect of it would displease the Almighty. This is a species of instruction which these poor people never

get at home. Were it to go no further than their acquiring some notions of justice and humanity, which they would never otherwise be likely to attain, much good would be achieved; but it is quite impossible that when you have opened the mind of a boy to a certain degree, and have given him the power of reading, he should stop at his school-book. He will unavoidably proceed to gain that information which the Brahmins would have prevented his ever reaching, had they perceived this education as likely to lead to it; and he will thence become an active instrument in dispelling the baleful superstitions of his countrymen. This forecast does not suggest itself to the Brahmins, who are caught by the immediate advantages which they think proficiency in science will bestow on their children. It must at the same time be said that the Brahmins near Calcutta are becoming oblivious of their caste, and indifferent about their customs, with a rapidity not observed by themselves. It may, therefore, be not simple short-sightedness, but a disposition not to see objections unless they are forced upon them, which makes them overlook the infallible consequence of the

expansion given to the intellect of their children. The girls in this school are Christians, and are kept totally apart from the other branch of the school. They are taught writing, arithmetic, and needlework, and appear to be very well managed. Hitherto the effect of the institution answers the benevolent wish in which it was planned.

January 10th.—Having so recently had occasion to notice the mischiefs arising from the protection of robbers and murderers by Dya Ram and Bhugwunt Sing, a violent complaint from the magistrate of Allyghur comes appositely. The insolent pretensions of Dya Ram have been the subject of numberless representations. He not only has for a long time past refused to let any of the Company's servants, civil or military, go into the fort of Hattrass, but has forbidden their entrance into the town, and has stopped all the processes of our judicial courts against persons in either. The magistrate now complains of Dya Ram's having seized and confined within his fort several individuals (British subjects), by whom he conceived himself offended; but he more particularly repre-

sents the outrage of a village having been surrounded by the troops of Dya Ram, in order to extort the surrender of an individual, though the magistrate was actually there. On the magistrate's directing the commanding officer to retire, the latter said he knew no chief but Dya Ram, and should not move without his orders. The magistrate despatched a police-officer to Dya Ram, with a letter detailing the circumstances, and desiring that the officer should attend his court to answer for the contumacy, but the letter was treated with complete disregard. My colleagues have represented the absolute necessity of putting down assumptions so injurious to the administration of our justice, as well as so insulting to our character. I have told them the thing must not be done by halves; if we step forward at all, we must extinguish the whole of the evil which a nest of fortresses, actually maintained against us, produces in the heart of our dominions; and that I was confident the boasted strength of Hattrass would give us little trouble if proper means of attack were prepared. It is determined by us to require the dismantling of Hattrass, Moorsaum, and the

1817.

JANUARY 1st.—I cannot open the new year with any remark more satisfactory than one which applies to the school established by Lady Loudoun at Barrackpore, because its success is not only gratifying to her views, but may be urged in proof of what is practicable in this country. The foundation is for the instruction of eighty native boys, and sixteen European and half-caste girls. The boys are to be taught arithmetic and Hindostanee, as well as writing in their own language, the Bengalee. Such boys as show particular attention are to be rewarded by being taught English. To preclude all jealousy in the natives as to the object being the conversion of the children, Lady Loudoun made a collection of stories, apologues, and maxims, all illustrating and recommending principles of morality, without reference to any particular religion. This, which was to be the English class-book, she had translated into Bengalee and Hin-

dependent forts; and to treat Dya Ram and Bhugwunt Sing as rebels if they resist. They are closely connected in consanguinity; and they, with their retainers, can bring into the field full ten thousand men of well-equipped troops—a formidable force, pretending to independence on us, just within that portion of our frontiers the most exposed to attack. The moment is not inopportune. The excuse is convenient for assembling a larger force than the precise object can demand, which force Scindiah will perceive to be in a moment convertible against Gwalior. The Nagpore subsidiary force, under Lieutenant-Colonel Adams, strengthened much beyond its stipulated rate, overhangs Scindiah on his eastern flank; Colonel Doveton and Colonel Smith, with their respective divisions, could at any moment penetrate his southern frontier; and he now will see an army assembled within four or five days' march of his own station. There is every reason, therefore, to trust that he will be supple and complaisant. Expecting that Dya Ram will resist, from the extravagant notions they have taken up of their skill in defending places, I shall send such a number of mortars against Hattrass

as must soon reduce it to a heap of ruins. They have never yet in this country employed mortars properly. There is nothing more impotent than shells when they fall at long intervals, and nothing more destructive where the succession is quick and constant.

January 22nd.—The determination of Scindiah is announced. He desired to reflect before he answered the communication which I caused the Resident to make to him. He then sent for the Resident, said he would depend upon me, and would join in the extirpation of the Pindarries, though it would be advisable not to let the intention be known at the instant; but hoped I would have no objection to his occupying the lands whence the Pindarries should be driven. The Resident said that, although he was not aware of its being actually the case, some of the lands might belong to the Nizam or the Peishwa, in which event they would be restored to our allies; all other territory, he was sure, I should cheerfully leave to his Highness. I was glad to hear this proposed condition, as it implied sincerity of decision; still, one is not to trust to a Mahratta; and

all that is to be rested upon is, that Scindiah does not feel himself strong enough at present to uphold the Pindarries.

January 23rd.—Having reached Barrackpore last night, we set out this morning before day on our sporting expedition. We proceeded in the *Feel-cherry* to Rana Ghaut, where we landed at three in the afternoon. We were met by Mr. Paton, judge and magistrate of Kishnagur, and Mr. Barnett, commercial resident at Santipore. We thence went in carriages to Mr. Paton's, at Kishnagur, where we dined and slept. At daybreak we crossed the Jellinghy. Travelling part of the way in carriages and part in palankeens, we arrived at Berhampore about half-past six, where we dined and slept at Mr. Ahmuty's. It was lucky that he has quarters in that splendid cantonment, for we had had journey enough, and should have found it tiresome to proceed to Moorshedabad, in the Appeal Court of which he is an officiating judge. The extraordinary unhealthiness of Moorshedabad, which seems to have been becoming worse year after year, has forced most of the European functionaries to seek residences at

some distance, and only to repair to the city for the discharge of their duties. These continued maladies, which had reduced the formerly great population of Moorshedabad to a third of its original number, have been discussed in Council, and Government has ordered, as a public act, a correction of the evil which no representation or persuasion could prevail on the inhabitants to apply. The city is full of thick copses of bamboo, which prevent a circulation of air; and in the midst of these masses there are multitudes of little stagnant pools. We have directed the bamboos to be extirpated, and compensation, framed on a fair valuation, being made to each owner; and we have ordered the pools to be either filled up or enlarged into tanks which may contain a serviceable supply for the people, while the quantity of the water will prevent its growing putrid. So incorrectly do large bodies of men judge of attentions to their welfare, that it is probable this operation will be looked upon rather as an oppression than as an act of kindness. Mr. Loch, city magistrate of Moorshedabad; Mr. Smith, one of the judges of the Court of Appeal; and Mr. Magniac, assistant-

register, had met us in our way to usher us into Berhampore.

January 25th.—This morning, Saturday, I reviewed the Company's European regiment, commanded by Major Broughton. It was strong, and in good order. Afterwards, we set out to proceed on our journey. In passing through the skirts of Moorshedabad, I had the satisfaction of witnessing the progress already made by the keen and judicious activity of Mr. Loch, in clearing away extensive portions of the forest of bamboos. At three o'clock we reached the banks of the Ganges. The river was so low, that the remaining channel was scarcely a mile wide. Jugguth Seyt and Rajah Oudwunt Sing had each sent up their mor punkhas from Moorshedabad (of which both of them are residents), to wait for me at this place. They were richly-ornamented vessels, and really elegant in their fashion, with many smaller boats attendant upon each. Infinite jealousy would have been caused by my giving a preference between the two. Jugguth Seyt is a banker, perhaps the richest in the world, whose firm had in times past been useful to Government; and Rajah Oudwunt

Sing is the representative of a very old family. I professed to the dewans who had charge of the flotillas, my sense of the polite attention; but I said, laughingly, that as I was there only as a sportsman, I could not use those magnificent conveyances; therefore, giving money to be distributed among the boatmen, I crossed the river in one of our own bhauleahs to Godaghary, near which our camp was pitched. The situation was quite a jungle, close to a jeel, or large pool, on the banks of which many alligators were amusing themselves. A grenadier company of the 21st Native Infantry met me as my guard—remarkably fine men.

January 26th, Sunday.—We remained quiet in our tents. Our party consisted of Mr. Adam, Lieutenant-Colonel Doyle, Mr. Chastenay, Captain M'Ra (?), Captain Caldwell, Captain Stanhope, Captain FitzClarence, and Dr. Sawyers—all of whom had accompanied me from Calcutta—with Mr. Ewer, Mr. Bennett, Mr. Hunter, and Mr. Lambert, civil officers of that vicinity.

February 2nd.—We marched to English Bazaar, the residence of Mr. Chester. At this place the greatest part of the silk sent home to England is

collected. The factory which Mr. Chester inhabits displays the prodigious difference between our present situation and that which existed not many years ago; for the house is surrounded by a walk flanked with bastions, on which cannon were mounted, and it was really a frontier post, though it is now quite in the interior of even what are now termed the Lower Provinces. It was curious to see the millions of silkworm cocoons laid up here. They are baked in ovens to kill the grub, in which state they may be preserved for six months. Mr. Chester told me that when the grubs are thrown out, after the silk has been spun off, the eagerness of the jackals to get them is surprising. They seem regardless of any danger in attempting to obtain such a dainty. That food has the singular effect of producing a sort of intoxication on the jackals. The morbid affection is transitory, and does not seem to tend to a madness like that of a rabid dog; but it, for the time, makes the animals stupid or violent, and careless of themselves. Is an escape from the ordinary contemplation of life a gratification equally to the quadruped and to the human creature? We met here Mr. Williams,

assistant to Mr. Chester; and Mr. Lamb, surgeon of the station.

February 6th.—I had allowed myself a certain number of days for absence from Calcutta, and I would not be seduced into extending the term which I had fixed. Not that I am exonerated from business on this excursion; relays of camels bring to me with speed every day the boxes from the several departments, containing all matters not of absolute routine. I labour at these from the time we return to camp in the morning till the hour for going out in the afternoon; and if that time do not suffice, I work again at them before I go to bed. In other points, however, a protracted absence might be inconvenient, and Scindiah's compliant professions have removed the contingent necessity for my hastening to the Jumna. I therefore this morning quitted Peergunge, on my return to Calcutta. In our way to English Bazaar, where we were to encamp, we had to beat again the plains which we had traversed on the 3rd.

February 7th.—We marched for the ruins of Gour, fording a river which discharges itself into

the Maha-Nuddee, and which even at this season is tolerably deep, we ascended what is represented as the rampart of the ancient city. It is surprising how rapidly a glance of the eye dispels the notions which one adopts from exaggerated descriptions of place. The first conviction was, that the mound on which we were proceeding had not been raised for defence, but was, in truth, nothing more than a bund (as it is here called), or dyke, to keep the floods from overflowing a considerable tract of country encircled by the elevation. This first impression being established, the suspicion followed, of course, that the city had not been coextensive—as is the fashion to believe—with these outworks, but that the space had contained a number of detached villages. Everything that I saw confirmed this presumption; so that the immense magnitude of Gour appeared to me a gratuitous supposition. This spot has been undoubtedly populous; but there are not remains of magnificence to attest that leisure and wealth of society which almost necessarily induce the erection of vast edifices, or the undertaking other works where great concert of labour is requisite. The prodi-

gious size of one of the tanks has been advanced as furnishing a scale by which the extent of the city might be judged. There is nothing in that tank which makes me draw a conclusion such as would place either the conception or the execution on a high footing. The whole country in that neighbourhood is studded with pools. Where several stood very near each other, it would be natural to think of joining them, and of giving the united sheet of water a regular form—especially as clay for making bricks must be dug up somewhere, and could be as expediently raised in the performance of this work as at any other place. There is, consequently, nothing to excite admiration on the score of magnitude, and there are no remains whence one can infer ornament to have belonged to the tank. We encamped close to the ruins of the fort and palace; so that as soon as the heat was a little mitigated in the evening, we set forth to continue our examination. I had heard the walls of the palace described as forty feet high, and in other respects a noble remnant of antiquity. The wall which surrounded the space said to have been occupied by the palace is high, but in other points

it might be regarded as shabby. In fact, there are two walls of small bricks, like what were used by the Romans, the interstice between which is filled up with clay. To prevent the bulging out of these walls, the whole mass tapers to the top, where it becomes so narrow as not to admit of a parapet, or indeed to allow of a man's walking on it. There are scarcely any vestiges of the palace,—none that give a notion of its ever having been fine. The fort presents scarcely anything better. The ramparts have been but moderate: the gateways, of brick, are just the ordinary structure seen in all the old native forts—large, from containing the lodgment for the guard, yet devoid of any particular dignity. We went some distance to see a mosque, which, in a description of Gour, is represented as equalling, in structure and ornament, the finest specimens of architecture in the Upper Provinces. A building which is only fifty feet square is not very striking from its size; but this mosque has, in addition to that defect, the demerit of being decorated in as bad taste as can well be imagined. Its boasted ornaments are bricks, glazed with different colours. These are not inserted so as to

display any elegance of pattern; simply a line of them intersects the red surface of the building. In short, we were exceedingly disappointed at this, and at all else which we examined in Gour. There seems a general propensity to eke out with the fancy the importance of any ruined place, and to devise for it anterior grandeur, though it exhibit no trace of splendour. The large quantities of bricks, remarkably well burnt, which have been taken out of the mounds here for purposes of building in the neighbourhood, afford no estimate of the quality of the city. The new structures raised with them would occupy a miserably small space compared with the imagined extent of Gour. The only natural inference is, that the facility of getting clay of proper texture, with plenty of jungle for burning it, led the inhabitants of the city and of the adjacent villages to build more generally with brick than has been the practice in those parts of Bengal where similar convenience did not exist. While we were at Peergunge, some of the gentlemen went to see the Adeena mosque, distant about twelve miles from that place. I could not afford myself the indulgence, as it would have interfered

with my working at business in the middle of the day. By their account it is curious, yet not magnificent, notwithstanding a front of 500 feet. It is a succession of small cupolas, supported inside the building by columns of a dull-blackish sort of granite,—clumsy, but in some parts ornamented with tolerably sharp carving. This mosque was built by Shere Shah; and it is observable that the remains in Gour bear the character of Mussulman work. The splendour, therefore, of the city, when it was the Hindoo capital of Northern India, is very problematical, or rather, may be said to be upheld by no evidence.

February 8th.—We set out for Seebgunge, where our boats were to meet us.

February 9th.—We embarked before dawn at Seebgunge. This town is on the Baughretty, a little above the confluence of that river with the Ganges. My present tour has confirmed strongly an opinion which had for some time been floating in my mind. I have suspected that the Brahminical religion did not originate in the provinces towards the Indus, but made its progress from the maritime ports of Bengal. A principal ground for

this supposition was, the otherwise unaccountable circumstance that the Hooghly should be a sacred stream, while no sanctity or reverence is attached to the Ganges eastward of the spot at which the comparatively small channel of the former separates from the main river. Had the veneration of the Ganges begun in the Upper Provinces, it seems almost impossible that the superstition should not have accompanied the increasing volume of the waters quite to the sea. Ablution and committal of the dead to a running stream being parts of the Brahminical ritual, the priests encouraged the observance of them by hallowing the river on which they fixed their establishments. The magnitude of the Hooghly, as far as the tide reaches, would naturally make persons who had not examined the distant country believe it to be the estuary of a magnificent stream. When devotion to the river had become so firmly fixed as not to be shaken, the discovery that the Hooghly was composed by the union of two insignificant branches, the Baughretty and the Jellinghy, would be too late. The sanctity would be to be carried up that branch along

which the accidental course of the extending religion proceeded. In this manner the Baughretty became sacred, while the Jellinghy remained unhonoured. On arriving at the point where the Baughretty flows out of the Ganges, some casual circumstance probably determined the migrating swarm to cross the latter river, instead of turning along its southern bank. If any consideration led them to fix themselves rather inland, instead of remaining on the northern bank of the Ganges, there would be a strong motive for attaching sacredness to any river bordering their new settlement. Supposing them to have established themselves at Gour, it was, on the above principle, natural to call the river which flowed by the station the Baughretty, identifying it with the river of that name already hallowed, and feigning that the stream which washed the shores of Gour crossed the bed of the Ganges to form the channel nearly opposite, and possessing a prescriptive title to reverence. When, subsequently, the extension of population took its direction along the banks of the Ganges westward, that river was also made sacred, and the quality would necessarily be as-

signed to it up to its very source. To account for this sanctity, the tale was devised, evidently by people who never had had information respecting that source, that the Ganges issued from the mountains through a chasm in a rock formed like the mouth of a cow; this natural phenomenon, which linked itself with the religious prejudices of the people for the animal, being supposed to dictate to the inhabitants the reverence in which the river should be held. Rowing down the Ganges for about thirty miles, we landed at Bogwangola, on the Cossimbazar island. We there found elephants waiting for us, which Mr. Loch had brought, the first stage being impracticable for a carriage. We proceeded on them about ten miles, when carriages were in readiness, and transported us in good time to Berhampore. We were there hospitably received by Mr. Smith, judge of the Circuit Court.

February 10th.—Partly in palankeens and partly in carriages, we proceeded to Kishnagur, where we had our usual cordial reception from Mr. Paton.

February 11th.—Having gone in carriages to Santipore (sixteen miles), we there embarked in the

Feel-Churry. We rowed to Pulta Ghaut, nearly thirty miles. There we found our carriages, and, missing Barrackpore, we arrived by nine at night in Calcutta.

February 16th.—Some circumstances relative to the death of the Rajah of Nepaul (which event was communicated to us in November) have been detailed, and are worth recording. Vaccination had been introduced with great success by the surgeon of the Residency; and several chiefs had subjected their families to it with the happiest issue. The small-pox was raging in the western provinces of the state, and the Rajah was earnestly pressed by the Resident to secure himself by resorting to a precaution which had proved so safe. The Rajah appears to have been perfectly inclined to it; but, apparently at the suggestion of persons around him, he declared himself obliged to wait for a fortunate day. His eldest son, a promising boy, was soon seized with the disorder and died. Even this could not determine the unfortunate sovereign. Shortly after, the malady appeared upon him. Hope being speedily over, he was carried to die in the Great Temple; a ceremony

which is always decisive, and the individual is laid on the stone floor, and left without succour till he expires. Two of his wives (the mother of the boy just deceased, with another that was childless) had declared their resolution to burn themselves in case of his demise. When his death was announced, two of his sisters and three slave girls were added for the sacrifice; whether at their own request, or whether the dreadful destination was forced upon them, could not be learned by our people. They all showed great firmness in mounting the funeral pile. The ceremony was over but a few days when the Rajah's half-brother, an active young man, was declared ill beyond recovery. He was carried to the temple, where he lingered for a short time, and then expired. His two wives burned themselves with the corpse. This Prince had upon the death of the late Rajah insisted upon being taken into the Council of Regency, which the minister Bheem Syn had formed of himself and two of his creatures. The difficulty of resisting so natural a pretension make the point embarrassing for Bheem Syn; and the death of the young man was observed to have come as oppor-

tunely as the decease of his brother; who was known to be manœuvring to free himself from the dominion of the minister. It is most probable that the deaths were natural, yet great alarm took place. The only remaining male of the reigning family was a child three years old. The Ranee, his mother, secretly addressed the Resident, saying that she threw herself wholly on the British for the preservation of her son. A few days after the Ranee was said to have died of the small-pox. Her death was certain, but the assertions were loud that she had had the small-pox six or seven years before. One may reasonably infer that in any malady which could give a colour for carrying the patient to the temple the issue must be sure; because, it may be supposed, it would be thought a gross impropriety in any person not to complete the act of dying after being exposed in the temple for the purpose. Indeed, I understand it to be a settled matter that such a breach of decorum shall never take place. As nothing can be more advantageous for Bheem Syn than to rule in the name of the minor, who is absolutely in his power, the young Rajah is probably secure. Bheem Syn is

one of the Thappas; a low family, which, by getting the military power under its sway, has established a predominance in the state. He is an intelligent, active man, totally devoid (as are all the Gorkhas) of those prejudices which prevent the natives from adopting the results of our science, though they witness the practical advantage. The Gorkhas have watched and imitated us with astonishing assiduity. All their arrangements of picquets and other camp duties are exactly ours. Bheem Syn took Mr. Gardner, the Resident, to see a practice of mortars which Mr. Gardner reports to have been very good.

March 14th.—Hattrass has fallen in the manner that I expected. It was certainly the strongest fortress in this part of India; was amply provided with artillery, and stores of every kind; and was garrisoned by troops not only highly disciplined, as well as numerous, but firmly attached to Dya Ram. All these fortresses, however, look to the being assaulted, and their defences are calculated accordingly. The number of works framed with the view of contesting the place inch by inch insured that the blowing about of them with shells

would be more than any garrison would have firmness to bear long. Forty-four mortars had, therefore, been ordered for the service. It was proof of great courage, that the garrison bore such a bombardment for fifteen hours, and continued the defence even when a magazine had blown up. Luckily it was not the principal magazine, the explosion of which would probably have destroyed every man in the fort. A shell did go through the roof (imagined bomb-proof) of that magazine, but the fuse had flown out, and the shell, in burying itself below, did not happen to touch any powder barrel; it was a wonderful escape for the poor people. At length, in the night, the garrison sallied, and attempted to escape. Dya Ram, with a few horsemen, got off; the rest were either slain or taken, and the fort was immediately occupied by our troops. The glacis was mined in many parts. The ditch is 125 feet broad, and 85 feet deep. The sudden and apparently easy reduction of this fortress, deemed by all the natives impregnable, with most trifling loss on our side and dreadful slaughter on that of the enemy, will make an extraordinary impression at all the neighbouring

courts; and we really wanted a success of this kind to retrieve our military character in the article of sieges. I rejoice that the old chieftain, who is a gallant fellow, got off unhurt. All the women had been sent away from the fort before the batteries opened.

March 23rd.—An embarrassing scene has opened to us. Towards the close of last year we discovered traces of many intrigues of the Peishwa's, which bore the appearance of hostility to us. At best, his objects were wholly irreconcileable to the articles of that treaty by which we fixed him on the musnud. Negotiations had been going on with the late Rajah of Nagpore, with Scindiah, with Holkar, and with the Guykwar. We persuaded ourselves that he only aimed at a re-establishment of his supremacy over the other Mahratta states; a dignity which he might conceive to be only nominal, but which would, in fact, imply the continuance of that confederacy of the Mahrattas intended to be for ever barred by the treaty of Bassein. The death of Ragojee Bhoosla, and our consequent treaty with Nagpore, so totally overset the plan of a Mahratta combina-

tion, that I think we followed up the clues which we had procured with less attention than we ought to have done. Enough, however, had been detected to make it expedient that I should write to the Peishwa for the purpose of showing him that we were apprized of what he had been doing. I mentioned this kindly as an aberration of which I was sure he had not comprehended the quality, entreating that no shyness might follow the discovery, but that he would rest upon me with all his former confidence if he determined (as I doubted not would be the case) to dispel from his mind projects incompatible with the friendship between the two states. He sent an answer full of gratitude for the gentle manner in which I had exposed a procedure liable, as he was now sensible, to be construed as a direct hostility to the British Government, and thence capable of drawing down ruin on himself. He declared that his agents had gone beyond his instructions, which only went to obtain a titular pre-eminence among the Mahrattas, and that, as he was now conscious even that step was wrong, he threw himself wholly on our generosity, imploring us to rely implicitly on his

good faith and attachment to a government to which he owed his dominions. We were so anxious to conciliate him, that we would not let him perceive our knowledge of a subsequent transaction most suspicious in its appearance. At length his sincerity and honour have been displayed in their true light. He had renewed his solicitations for the pardon of Trimbuckjee Dainglia. In my letter I explained to his Highness, in terms as distinct as I could use without insinuating my conviction of his own guilt, the imputation of his being an accomplice in the murder of Gungudhur Shastree, which would unavoidably follow the notoriety of his Highness's intercession till the crime had in some degree been forgotten. This appeared to have produced the due effect. Shortly after, however, the Peishwa renewed his application to the Resident, and on Mr. Elphinstone's urging to him the objections which had been stated by me, his Highness broadly said that what was refused to solicitation might be extorted by force. The Resident, in temperate and respectful terms, represented the unfitness of such a threat. The Peishwa did not endeavour to explain away the

words; but he did not repeat the menace, and the matter was passed over as a momentary ebullition of peevishness. Little time had elapsed before Mr. Elphinstone received information of the secret enrolment of troops throughout the Peishwa's dominions, and even of a considerable assemblage of them under Trimbuckjee Dainglia. Having communicated this to the durbar, the Resident was astonished to find his representation met by an absolute denial of the fact. On his insisting on the accuracy of his intelligence, and quoting particulars which showed how thoroughly he was apprized of what was going forward, it was promised that a body of horse should be immediately sent to disperse the collection of troops if any existed, though perfect incredulity was still professed on the subject. Mr. Elphinstone was not to be duped. He was not entitled to question the sincerity with which the body of cavalry was despatched; but he attached to it private emissaries of his own, instructed to watch and impart to him the proceedings of the Mahratta commander. From them he speedily learned the cavalry were placed in the midst of a number of villages filled with Trimbuck-

jee's troops, to whom the former gave no obstruction or trouble. Furnished with these particulars he waited upon the Peishwa, who produced to him a letter from the commander of the cavalry reporting his being stationed in the specified position, and declaring that there were no troops collected in the vicinity or anywhere else that he could learn. Mr. Elphinstone opposed to this report the precise intelligence which he had received from his emissaries on the spot; further specifying different columns which were marching to that rendezvous with the overt sanction of his Highness's officers, and particularizing various large sums sent by his Highness himself to assist the levies and bring forward the troops into the field. He moreover exhibited to the Peishwa a list of the troops which his Highness had summoned to the capital. These combined indications of hostility, the Peishwa was informed, had been communicated to me; and the Resident anxiously pressed his Highness to reflect and trace back his steps, so as that when my orders, the tenor of which Mr. Elphinstone could anticipate, should arrive, the Resident might have a justification for suppressing them. The Peishwa

received the remonstrance haughtily and slightingly. Mr. Elphinstone told him that, as the cavalry which had been detached for the purpose had not acted, he should direct a part of the subsidiary force to attack the insurgents as rebels against his Highness's Government, unless his Highness chose to protect the assemblage with his sanction, which would be tantamount to a declaration of war. The Peishwa, not being prepared for so sudden a crisis, made no objection; but immediately after this conference gave instructions for redoubled activity in levying troops and putting his fortresses in a state of defence.

April 19th.—Trimbuckjee's troops have been routed with severe loss in two gallant attacks made upon them by detachments from the subsidiary force. The Vinchoor Jagheerdar, a nominal dependent of the Peishwa's, but considering himself as really under our protection, availed himself of the ostensible character given to the business; and affecting to consider the insurgents as in revolt against his Highness's Government, he pursued them in their retreat with his cavalry, and finally dispersed them. Between five and six hundred

horses were taken from them by him. It is not known whither Trimbuckjee has fled. We have obtained complete proof of the extensive and desperate treachery of the Peishwa. It appears that even in the autumn of last year he was soliciting Scindiah, Holkar, Ameer Khan, the Guykwar, the Rajah of Nagpore, and the Nizam, to join with him and drive the English out of India. Scindiah and Holkar have promised to assist him against us; but I deceive myself much if I leave them the power of stirring. I am satisfied that none of them, not even the Peishwa, are aware of the degree in which I have silently and gradually augmented the divisions on the southern frontiers of the Mahrattas, from a timely conception of the exigencies likely to occur. Those different bodies, in fact armies, are in positions which would allow of their acting instantaneously; and they intercept the communication between the native powers as far as regards the march of bodies of troops. Still, this perfidy of the Peishwa's is very unfortunate when the ticklish undertaking for the extirpation of the Pindarries is coming forward to execution. A vigorous decision was requisite, and it has been taken

May 26th.—The blow has been successfully struck against the Peishwa. Colonel Smith was ordered to advance his division, in separate detachments, with as little parade as possible, to situations whence by a forced march they might unite at Poonah. The Resident was instructed, as soon as the troops should be in those forward stations, to demand an audience of the Peishwa, and to deliver to him this option; instant commencement of hostilities, or an engagement on his Highness's part to deliver up Trimbuckjee to the British Government within one month. Should his Highness accept the latter alternative, his three strongest fortresses must be put into possession of Colonel Smith as security for his Highness's good faith. On this condition he would not be removed from the musnud; but, as the deep and persevering treason which had been carried on against the British Government must prevent any future confidence in his friendship, his Highness's means of injuring us would be diminished by a defalcation from his power, though the alliance should in point of form continue. I was particularly pointed in directing that this resolution of exacting cessions from him,

as the penalty of his base and profligate attempt to excite a general conspiracy against us, should be distinctly explained to him, lest he should endeavour to represent it as barred by his submission to the simple condition respecting Trimbuckjee; and Mr. Elphinstone was accordingly precise in intimating it. Four-and-twenty hours were allowed to the Peishwa for his determination. He affected to treat the communication lightly, as if he had already taken his part and resolved to abide by it. I think he had expectation to the last, of being succoured by Scindiah and Holkar. Whether or not he received intelligence of their inability to stir is doubtful; but after having let the day and the earlier part of the night pass in apparent indifference, about midnight he sent to treat with the Resident. The latter answered that he had no powers to negotiate; he had received specific instructions leaving him no latitude; he had communicated them to his Highness, and he had no further function till his Highness's choice was made. The Peishwa let the twenty-four hours expire. This was expected, and provision had been made for the occurrence. At eight in the morning,

the heads of the different columns appeared before Poonah; and the necessary positions being previously fixed, the city was immediately invested. The inhabitants were so confident in the discipline of the British troops, that they did not show the least agitation. His Highness had seven thousand infantry (chiefly Arabs), besides a large body of cavalry, in the palace, which forms a kind of fortress; but the dreadful effect of the shells at Hattrass had been so bruited through the country, that no man had trust in walls. The Peishwa sent his ministers to profess his unqualified submission. Orders were put into the hands of the Resident for the delivery of the three forts; and a proclamation has been issued, offering two lacs of rupees (25,000*l.*) for the capture of Trimbuckjee. I have never had the least notion that the Peishwa would encourage any real step for the apprehension of that criminal, but the amount of the reward will make Trimbuckjee sensible that he cannot stay in the country without being seized by somebody. He will, therefore, go off to some distant state, Scinde or Cabul possibly, where the secret boons of the Peishwa will enable him to live splendidly.

This is an issue which I should prefer much to his being taken.

June 28th.—The new treaty by which the Peishwa subscribes to the exacted cessions, has arrived. It re-establishes the treaty of Bassein (the treaty of alliance), with a stricter construction of certain articles. It abrogates for ever all claim to supremacy on the part of the Peishwa over the other Mahratta states, declares them independent, and bars the Peishwa from any species of interference with them. It binds the Peishwa not to maintain a vakeel at any foreign court or to receive one thence. It stipulates that the Peishwa shall not admit into his dominions the subjects of any European or American state without the consent of the British Resident. It settles all the contested points between the Peishwa and Guykwar (advantageously for the latter), which the British Government had been bound to arbitrate. It transfers to the Company all the Peishwa's rights in Bundelcund, a matter of great convenience to us. It yields to this Government the fine fort of Ahmednuggur, a post of extraordinary importance in keeping up the communication

between the Hyderabad and the Poonah subsidiary forces; and it cedes to us districts near Bombay, connecting that Presidency with Surat, affording a clear revenue of, thirty-four lacs of rupees in commutation for the five thousand cavalry which the Peishwa was bound to keep up for us as his contingent, and which he never did maintain. These terms are in themselves severe. When, however, they are measured by the magnitude of the injury aimed at us they will not appear harsh; nor will the necessity of imposing them be doubted when it is considered that our experience had proved the impossibility of our relying on the most solemn pledges of the Peishwa, who must unavoidably be more malignant from the detection of his treachery; so that we had no choice consistent with our own security, but to cripple him if we left him on the throne. The extreme of deposing him was altogether repugnant to my feelings as long as our absolute safety did not require the procedure. Relaxations or partial restorations may be practicable should we find him steady and honourable hereafter; but his disposition is so radically bad that I have little hope of his meriting favour.

In the mean time we trampled under foot a mischief which might have become serious.

July 8th.—Embarked from Calcutta for the Upper Provinces, with the fervent hope that I may be the humble instrument for extinguishing an evil which has been a bitter scourge to humanity. The horrors committed by the Pindarries exceed all imagination. Having for some time back had the means of getting at the correspondence between the Pindarry chiefs, Scindiah, and Ameer Khan, I find the strongest assurances from the two latter of support to the Pindarries when the British shall attack them. The complete insignificance which Scindiah or Ameer Khan would ascribe to any promise makes this of little consequence. It will be the beginning of October before troops can take the field: the rains and swollen rivers being still more distressing to the Pindarries than to our people, any premature demand for movement is unlikely.

July 13th.—I have hazarded a supposition, deduced from particular circumstances, that the present Hindoo religion had not its origin on the banks of the Ganges. This persuasion is strongly

upheld by a dissertation which Dr. Robert Tytler has lately published, on the remains of temples to Siva, in the island of Java. These are represented as still exhibiting great magnificence with regard to size and architecture. All the images connected with Hindoo worship are found in these ruins; some as statues, some in alto or basso-relievo, skilfully and even elegantly executed. Structures so vast (I have seen drawings that show them to be really grand) do not betoken filiation, when one finds nothing correspondent in plan throughout the country whence the creed is imagined to have been borrowed. It seems more natural to conceive that splendid monuments referring to the worship indicate the parent soil of the religion, and that the imitation on a smaller scale belongs to a country which has adopted the faith and ceremonies. On the Coromandel coast there are temples of a description very superior to those in this part of India; but that can only excite the question whether the source of the worship should be attributed to the southern part of this peninsula, or to the eastern islands. It leaves unaffected the objection to assigning the banks of the Ganges as the

cradle of the doctrines. Perhaps my opinion on that head may receive some additional support from a fact which I overlooked in discussing this subject some time ago. The Carumnassa river, from its springs in the Vindhaya ridge to its confluence with the Ganges, is deemed so polluting that it is shunned with the greatest apprehension by the Hindoos. Should a Hindoo pilgrim in crossing it in a boat receive the smallest sprinkling from the splash of an oar, he must pay an expiatory sum to the Brahmins, or must recommence his pilgrimage at the place where he set out, be the distance ever so great. A superstition so singularly contradictory to those habits of the Hindoos, which make them regard every other stream with partiality, cannot have arisen but from the inculcation of the Brahmins. The motive for such a policy in them is thence an object of speculation. It is possible the leading personages of that caste may have had some reason for wishing to restrain the propensity of their disciples to extend their progress up the southern bank of the Ganges; having endeavoured to make Gour, to the northward of the river, the principal seat of the religion, they would from

that impulse convert a natural boundary so defined as the Carumnassa into a religious barrier, by making the touch of its water a serious defilement. If there be anything in this surmise, it strengthens the former inferences, whence I had concluded the Brahminical ceremonies to have been introduced up the Hooghly. The aim of Dr. Tytler's dissertation is to prove the identity of the worship of Budh with that of Siva, each being, according to his opinion, pure deism. Probably Budhism was so, it being understood that Budh was not a typification of the Deity. The images of Budh, as far as I can learn, were never worshipped. It is said they were meant to invite and instruct the multitude towards the proper adoration of the Supreme Being; the figure of Budh being only that of a priest displaying the calm benignity of spirit and abstracted contemplation of the Creator, which the principles of that faith enjoined as the homage most pleasing to the Almighty. The worship of Siva is as widely different from this as possible. Siva is a god of terrors. Though Dr. Tytler states the placidity of countenance given to him in some statues as resembling the humane tranquillity of Budh's fea-

tures, the circumstance alters nothing in the received character of the divinity. He is still the destroyer, and all his attributes point at infliction. Besides, the worship of this idol is direct. The formularies prescribe invocation and offerings immediately to the statue. It is nugatory to say that the prayers are offered to the sole-existing and invisible power through the emblematic representation which the statue exhibits. This is the subterfuge under which, in all times, idolatry has endeavoured to shelter itself against the charge of obvious folly in bowing the knee to man's handiwork; yet the devotion paid in all those cases to the statue itself gives the lie to the excuse. Beyond this irreconcileable discrepancy, Dr. Tytler himself furnishes, what appears to me an insurmountable evidence against his hypothesis. He describes the prodigious number of statues of Budh which surround the terraces of the great temple of Siva at Brambanan. Surely if anything were meant by this exhibition, it must have been the proud and insolent triumph of a new doctrine over a failing one, in which sense the multiplied

figures of Budh were ranged as attendants on the predominant object of adoration.

July 20th.—This day I have interchanged visits with the Nawab of Bengal in our pinnaces. The pretence of being exceedingly pressed for time enabled me to excuse myself from the usual form of receiving his Highness's visit some miles below Moorshadabad, and returning it ashore on my arrival off the city. In this latter shape I should have been subjected to accept an entertainment; a heavy penance in weather so warm as now reigns. Though rejoiced to escape a ceremony which would have been oppressive to all parties, I am glad to have seen his Highness again. He is a mild and gentlemanly young man; but in all instances there is an advantage arising from these interviews between the Governor-General and natives of rank; for the courtesy which naturally must be exhibited on those occasions has a tendency to obviate many misunderstandings, and tempers the opinion generally entertained of a repulsive dryness in our Government.

July 23rd.—This day we entered the main river.

We did not continue in it long; but turning to the left, we proceeded up a branch which runs parallel to it. The current was not in this by any means so strong as in the principal stream, which is this year remarkably powerful from the unusual quantity of rain. The channel which our fleet is now navigating was not practicable for large boats two years ago. It is now a considerable volume of water, and is said to be increasing. It is probable that the flow of the water into the cut, from the Ganges to Sootee, has occasioned a greater direction of the stream through this channel. The Hooghly might in consequence, become extraordinarily augmented, a circumstance not at all desirable.

July 27th.—We have this day passed Siclygully. Quitting the main river opposite to Rajemahl, we proceeded up one of the mouths of the Coosy, and again descended into the Ganges through another. By this course we avoided a portion of the river between Rajemahl and Siclygully, where the stream runs with great violence.

July 28th.—This day it has blown fresh from the eastward, and we have nearly reached Colgong. Three boats have been overset to-day, and two

lives lost. Nothing can be more agreeable in the imagination of those who have not experienced it than a voyage up the Ganges. It is, however, an undertaking excessively tedious, and attended with much danger.

July 29th.—A verification of what I yesterday observed concerning the danger of this voyage occurred about noon to-day. A violent squall burst suddenly upon us, and nine vessels were overset or sunk in consequence of being dashed against each other. We were happy enough to save all the people. Fortunately the principal loss (in wine, stores, saddlery, &c.,) falls on me who am most equal to bear it.

August 2nd.—We have had a rough gale to-day. Fortunately it was from the right quarter, and it enabled us to get past Monghyr. At this point there is much embarrassment for vessels proceeding up the river. The stream runs with such force round the bastions of the old fort (the river making a bend here) that a strong breeze is requisite to aid the trackers in hauling the boats against it; and in the channel, at a distance from the fort, there are sunken rocks which make the

passing in that part very dangerous. The river being at this moment uncommonly full of water, the current is peculiarly violent, and many of the vessels were dangerously whirled about, notwithstanding the strength of the wind. Five boats were sunk to-day. These losses are serious to individuals.

August 5th.—We have been getting forward tolerably well considering the strength of the stream. It has blown fresh at times from the eastward, without which we could not have proceeded. Another boat was run down this morning, the people luckily saved. The river is fuller at present than the oldest people remember to have seen it, and it has overflowed the country to a great extent. Several villages appeared like islands in the expanse of water. Notwithstanding the strength of the current and roughness of the waves, many persons have passed us floating by means of empty earthen pots fastened to their shoulders, while they pushed before them the little raft laden with the wares they were carrying to market. The collector of the district assures me that they will in this manner descend the river

four or five miles (having to walk the distance back again) to sell a lot of commodities, the value of which would be little above fourpence. I have been observing a dexterous mode of fishing. Two men have a net like a large English bat-fold net, of which each holds one of the side sticks. They leap off the bank where the stream is strong and water deep. When they are a little way from the shore, and have taken a proper distance from each other, they dive in order to get the net near the bottom, the current carrying them down quickly. As soon as they come again to the surface they make for the shore, and I was surprised to see how successful they were. Since we have anchored this evening, the hilsa have been sold in the fleet at sixty-four for a rupee, equal to a half-crown. It is a kind of shad, running from one to two pounds weight, and would be excellent were it not very full of bones. The lowness of the price, when the crews of our large fleet must have added so prodigiously to the purchasers, shows the wonderful plenty of the fish.

August 9th.—Our vessels reached the eastern end of Patna yesterday evening. The wind being

unfavourable, we were obliged to anchor. The house of Mr. Campbell, with whom I had engaged to stay while the damages of our fleet were repairing, was above five miles higher up along the bank. I attempted this morning to row to it in the *Feel-Cherry* or Government barge; but although we had two-and-thirty stout expert paddlers, we were totally unable to make head against the stream! We were obliged to push for the other side of the river (which is now about five miles broad here), in the hope that the current would be found slacker over the inundated grounds. It was so in a considerable degree, yet we were obliged to make our progress by steering from village to village, where, standing like islands in the flood, they broke the violence of the stream. From most of these villages the inhabitants had retired betimes. At one we saw the poor people constructing rafts with earthenware pots and faggots made of drift wood, for the purpose of committing themselves to the current, should the water continue to rise. They had four or five boats, which could give them little aid in guiding such machines. The only assistance we could render was the bestowing some rope which

would help to bind their rafts firm. After nearly five hours of hard work we reached the hospitable mansion of Mr. Campbell.

August 12th.—The account of damages has now been made up. We have lost thirty boats, including the small attendant panswas. In the later wrecks several lives have been lost. This being the Prince Regent's birthday, we keep it here in all form. I yesterday received the Raj Gooroo (high priest) of Nepaul, who was sent by the Government to compliment me. Such an attention from the court of Katmandhoo, at a time of the year when all ordinary intercourse between the hills and the plain is suspended, makes great impression on the natives here, who, according to their notions, ascribe every civility to a dread of power. The poor man was so ill, as to have been nearly incapable of going through the ceremony. Almost all his suite are similarly attacked with that fever which makes the vicinity of the forest, at the foot of the mountains, so dangerous in the rainy seasons. I showed particular cordiality to Gooroo, to repay him for what he had suffered, and I understand he is highly gratified. Mr. Wellesley, assistant resident at Katmandhoo,

who accompanied the Gooroo, tells me that their journey was extremely toilsome and even dangerous. The torrents which they had to cross were so rapid, that two of Mr. Wellesley's horses were carried away, and dashed to pieces against the rocks. The general knowledge of the politics of India which the Gooroo exhibited in conversations with Mr. Wellesley, struck the latter strongly. On one occasion the Gooroo observed, that whether we wished it or not, the British must carry their sway up to the Indus. "One after another," said he, "the native sovereigns will be urged, by folly, or overweening pride, to attack you; and then you must, in self-defence, conquer; and then you are much the stronger, whether you intended it or not." This involved an oblique censure on his own government, for the indiscretion of quarrelling with us. Certainly, had they left us alone, they might with ease have subdued the Sikhem Rajah and the kingdom of Assam—operations in which we should not have felt interested—and the addition of strength to the Gorkhas, who have known well how to draw resources from their conquests, would have been very great. The

fatigue I have had in giving a multitude of audiences, and in bringing up business which had fallen into arrear through the separation of the secretaries' boats, has prevented my making my entries regularly, or I should have minuted my comfort at finding that during the night of the 9th, the river fell above a foot perpendicular, so that the poor folks who were preparing their rafts would not be driven to that hazardous embarkation. The water has diminished ever since. I was much pleased to learn from the judge at the head of the Appeal Court, as well as from the magistrate of the city, the comparative infrequency of crimes in this city; which contains above two hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. The tranquillity of it is also remarkable, considering the number of old Moslem families resident here, to each of which many idle dependents are attached. It is only ascribable to the large proportion of European functionaries on the spot, through whose superintendence a transgression is immediately chastised. There is nothing more injurious than delay between the commission of a crime and its punishment; the intervention of but a

moderate term suffices to erase from the multitude a distinct impression of the offence, so that the tardy infliction loses its principal utility as an example.

August 13th.—Continued our voyage.

August 14th.—No observation is trifling which marks a peculiarity in the feelings of any people. We passed to-day a shore where for a great length the chain of villages was continued. Of course crowds of people collected on the bank to see the fleet. It rained smartly. Almost every man was provided with an umbrella, with which he sheltered himself; but I did not see a single instance in which a man offered that protection to a woman, though many of them had infants in their arms. The umbrella is an appendage which women rarely carry in this country. Their want of it on this occasion seemed calculated to call forth a humane attention; there did not, however, appear any symptom of sensibility towards the fair sex. We have anchored four miles above Dinapore.

August 16th.—We have passed Chuprah. The Collector of Sarun has mentioned to me a circumstance which indicates a great activity of trade.

He receives monthly, on an average, a lac of rupees, of which about four-fifths are paid in notes of the Bengal Bank. These must have been received from Calcutta in payment for commodities sent thither. The great convenience of an institution by which large sums are so readily transmitted is very striking.

August 29th.—Since the 14th, we have not had any rain, and the weather has in consequence been intensely hot. The rate of the thermometer during the day has been from 92° to 98°. I have observed it in my boat to reach 88° at four o'clock in the morning, which may be supposed the coolest period of the twenty-four hours. I have received an account of the Gooroo's death, and lament it sincerely. He had appeared better from having been cheered by the tone of his reception; but the day after we had quitted Patna, the fever returned with such violence as carried him off in a few hours. We have just anchored at Mirzapore.

September 2nd.—I have been pained by the death of Lieutenant Henry Fitzclarence, one of my aides-de-camp. He was a mild, amiable young man, earnest in seeking information, and in im-

proving himself by study. He sunk under the fourth day of a fever. It is only surprising there has not been more of serious malady in the fleet from the extraordinary oppressiveness of the weather. This day we have passed the fort of Allahabad, an operation always difficult, from the strength of the stream, and have anchored opposite to Papamow. Yesterday morning we were informed that, although we might reach the vicinity of Allahabad, we should there be obliged to stop, the falling of the river having reduced the passage to intricate channels between shoals over which there were not above two feet of water. Our large pinnaces could not be hazarded in such a navigation. Last night there was a sudden swell in the river, probably from the melting of snow in the mountains; and a strong easterly breeze sprang up in the morning, so that we traversed, without embarrassment, the whole space in which we were to have encountered difficulty. One of the gentlemen of my suite observed to the head pilot of Allahabad how fortunate the rise of the water and the favourable breeze had been; the man, putting his hands together respectfully, said, with great

simplicity, "But I suppose, sir, the Governor-General had ordered it so."

September 4th.—I had a proof to-day of the dangers of this navigation. The wind being contrary, the men belonging to a bhauleah were tracking it along shore, and they kept the boat near the bank from being between it and my pinnace; on a sudden at least a ton weight of earth fell from the bank upon the bhauleah and sent it to the bottom in an instant. A bhauleah is a barge, with eight or ten oars, attached to a pinnace; and it has a low cabin like that of a Venetian gondola. This boat belonged to one of the aides-de-camp, and had he been in the cabin, he must have perished. There was one man at the stern and another at the head of the bhauleah to guide her in the rapid currents, but luckily no portion of the earth fell upon them.

September 12th.—We have anchored at Jajemow. Nothing has occurred since my last entry, except that at Dalmow a man of rank sent by the Nawab Vizeer was waiting for me. He had brought several elephants with howdahs for my service, with fine tents, beds, cooks, servants, dogs,

and hawks. I went ashore to pay the compliment of admiring this establishment, though I professed my regret that the necessity of making the most of a favourable wind would not let me profit by this kind attention. I wrote a cordial letter to the Nawab Vizeer on the subject, and ordered a donation to the poor of Dalmow, which belongs to him. The weather has continued most oppressively hot.

September 13th.—I rode from Jajemow to Cawnpore this morning. The troops were drawn out to receive me and looked extraordinarily well. I took up my quarters at the house of Mr. Shakespear, superintendent of police for the Western Provinces. Everything here is parched with the heat and drought. If there be not rain soon, the crops will perish, and a serious dearth may be apprehended. Grain is at considerably more than double its usual price through the general fear of scarcity.

September 17th.—I have just received the distressing account that Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Hislop is dangerously ill at Hyderabad. Through this circumstance, his troops are not so forward as I expected. They cannot reach the

Nerbudda till the end of October. I must thence postpone the assembling the centre and right divisions of our main army till the 20th October. They were to have been formed on the 10th; but as their destination is to occupy positions which menace Gwalior, it is not advisable to move so early as that Scindiah might be recovered from the impression before the troops from the south began to pass his territory to get at the Pindarries. The left division under Major-General Marshall will assemble at Collingur on the original day.

September 18th.—The Nawab Vizeer has been exceedingly anxious to come to me; but I am so immersed in business, that I am forced to put off our meeting until I shall have returned from the Jumna; a very indefinite period. It is pleasing to believe that real feeling makes the Nawab Vizeer so solicitous of this interview. I have seen here the English physician who attends him, and who says that, whenever the Vizeer mentions my conduct towards him, it is in a tone of affectionate energy. Why have we not more generally held to these people a manner which establishes such beneficial influence?

September 23rd.—Accounts of Sir Thomas Hislop's being out of danger. This is a great relief to me, for my toil had been much augmented by the provisional arrangements I had to frame for the contingency of his decease. It appears to me certain that Scindiah, though necessarily put on the alert by my visit to these Upper Provinces, does not yet comprehend the decisive and extended nature of our purpose. A letter of congratulation on my having reached Cawnpore has arrived from Holkar. The phraseology is more strong than is usually employed in such compliments. Construing the professions into an overture which his fear and embarrassments might well suggest, I have in my answer declared my disposition to promote his authority and welfare on any terms which will provide for the future tranquillity of Central India.

September 28th.—The Resident has explained to Scindiah the necessity for Sir Thomas Hislop's marching across a part of his Highness's dominions to attack the Pindarries. Scindiah appeared quite unprepared for such a communication. He was confused; said he must consider on the point; and

repeated often that he was taking measures for destroying the Pindarries. The Resident replied that, as no steps towards that object on the part of his Highness had been discoverable, the British Government had been forced to undertake the business; and if his Highness had been sincere in his former pledges, he had now only to order that every amicable attention should be shown to the British troops within his territory. Here the matter rests.

September 30th.—Scindiah has subscribed to the requisition of the Resident, and has issued an order to his different commandants to receive the British troops as friends, and to give them every facilitation in their march to the Nerbudda. His Highness has further desired that I should be assured of his disposition to follow my wishes in every respect. I have perfect information that he has agents with Holkar, Ameer Khan, and Runjeet Sing, urging those chiefs to join him in opposition to us. Of this no notice must be taken. Duplicity of that sort is the incorrigible habit of the Mahrattas. We must not look to the security of honourable pledges from them, but be satisfied

with carrying point by point through gentle intimidation.

October 4th.—On my inquiry into their mode of making ice here, which proves to be the same as the process used in Bengal, a circumstance somewhat curious was mentioned. If there be a single white cloud floating in the atmosphere, let the weather be ever so cold, no ice can be procured that morning, even though the wind be from the west, which is the best quarter.

October 5th.—A curious detection has occurred. Two men were stopped at a ferry by one of our police officers, who suspected that they had stolen a book which they had with them, and which seemed too good to belong to persons squalidly dressed. On examining their turbans, in which the natives usually conceal anything valuable, he found in each an impression of Scindiah's seal taken off in wax. This led to an examination of the book. Several letters were found in it dexterously concealed between the cover and leaves, which were pasted down on it. Of the letters, two were from Scindiah, being sealed with his private seal. One was to the Rajah of Nepaul, the other to Bheem

Syn, the first minister. Two other letters from Hindee Rao Gwatkia, brother-in-law to Scindiah, are addressed to the minister and his brother. The other letters are from the secret agent of Nepaul at Scindiah's court. He urges Bheem Syn and three or four more of the leading men to attack the British directly, assuring them that Scindiah is preparing to take the field against us with a powerful army. The Mahratta, not caring into what scrape he got the Gorkhas, would be glad to excite any trouble to us for the chance of its alleviating pressure on himself; but the circumstance affords no solid presumption of Scindiah's determination to be restive. I have directed the letters of Scindiah and Hindee Rao to be delivered by the Resident to the former unopened and without explanation. It will make him believe he is closely watched, yet that we do not seek ground of criminating him. He has privately sent for a great quantity of camels for the eventual transportation of his family and valuables from Gwalior. The camels, however, never can reach him but by our permission.

October 11th.—The Resident has spoken roundly to Scindiah. He has informed his Highness that

the Governor-General had, after deliberation, formed his plan for the suppression of the Pindarries, without considering the co-operation or the opposition of any one. The choice between those two procedures could only affect the Maharajah himself. The Governor-General had not the remotest wish to injure the interest or lower the dignity of his Highness, but neither could be contemplated if Scindiah counteracted the object which the Governor-General was determined, at all events, to carry through. Scindiah declared himself thoroughly disposed to accommodate himself to my wishes. The next morning the Resident attempted to make Atmaram Pundit sensible of the benefits the Maharajah would derive from a frank co-operation with me. Atmaram Pundit, who is Minister for Foreign Affairs, shrugged up his shoulders and said, "The weakest must obey the stronger." It was a curious avowal of incapacity for effectual resistance. The Resident caught at the expression, and asked him whether he thought we meditated any unprovoked hostility to Scindiah. Atmaram answered eagerly that he could have no suspicion; the customs of the British Government were too

well known for anything insidious to be apprehended; the salutary course for his master was, under present circumstances, to accede unreservedly to the purposes of the Governor-General; but that it was still humiliating to appear to act through constraint. The Resident assured him everything would be avoided which could give his Highness's union with us such a semblance in the eyes of the country. The minister said that the delicacy would be duly appreciated, and we should find his Highness sincere.

October 16th.—I quitted Cawnpore before daylight this morning, and am encamped on the Jooie Plain. A circumstance has occurred which will affect the superstitious minds of the natives strongly. There was a shock of earthquake just as I was setting out. The same thing took place when Lord Lake was leaving Cawnpore on his successful campaign against the Mahrattas. The coincidence has nothing odd in it when it is known that slight shocks of this sort often are perceived on the termination of the rainy season. I am much inclined to think they are not earthquakes. I suspect that there is some impulse which suddenly presses a

considerable body of the atmosphere downwards, and that the elasticity of the air springing up again from the surface of the earth, occasions the vibration as well as the rumbling noise heard at the time. In a real earthquake there is a peculiar heaving of the earth, which is very different to my feeling from the kind of shock we have just experienced. The recurrence of this phenomenon at a particular season confirms the probability of its being atmospheric.

October 21st.—Yesterday, the several corps composing this division assembled in our present camp at Secundra. I have made five easy stages of it with the troops from Cawnpore. The arrangement of the camp had been previously prescribed by me, and I found everything well executed. On examining the camp this morning, I found the immense train of baggage much more compactly stowed, and, of course, more easily secured, than I had expected. When I viewed it on the line of march, the difficulty of protecting it against cavalry appeared almost insuperable; but I was assured by the staff-officers accustomed to service in this country that the persons employed with

the baggage contribute actively to the defence of it. The drivers of the hackeries (a kind of cart) make little fortifications with great rapidity, by drawing up their carriages in squares, and unyoking the oxen, which are then placed in the centre. Most of the hackery-drivers have spears, so that, unless the cavalry have fire-arms, which is very rarely the case, they set the assailants at defiance from within their barricade. The cavalry cannot dismount, for the horses in this country are so vicious, that one man cannot give to another his horse to hold. The Bunjaries are equally dexterous. They are a remarkable community. The name implies migrating through the desert; and such is their course of life. They have no fixed habitations, but move about, as convenience of pasture invites, with their numerous herds of cattle, in the uncultivated tracts near the foot of the northern hills. The principal people, however, among them keep up a constant communication with our military stations and with the native courts; so that they are ready at call when their services are wanted. Their business is to furnish cattle on hire for the transportation of baggage or grain. In

the latter they are dealers; a circumstance which enables the Commissary-General to contract with them at once for the provision and the carriage on occasions when it would not be convenient to recur to our own magazines. The grain is carried in bags hanging across the backs of the oxen. When they are approached by hostile cavalry, the Bunjaries make a square redoubt with the bags, which they throw off their oxen and rear into ramparts with surprising quickness. Most of the men have matchlocks and are very resolute, so that the plundering horsemen do not like to approach them. The Bunjaries are very fair in their dealings and trusty to their employers. Their cattle are docile and quick in movement. The heat continues oppressive, but the troops are healthy.

October 22nd.—This morning I reviewed the line. It consists of the 24th Light Dragoons, 3rd Native Cavalry, 7th Native Cavalry, body-guard, three troops of Horse Artillery, detachment of Foot Artillery and Golandauze, European flank battalion 87th Regiment, 2nd battalion 1st Regiment Native Infantry, 1st battalion 8th Native Infantry, 2nd battalion 11th Native Infantry, 2nd

battalion 13th Native Infantry, 1st battalion 24th Native Infantry, 2nd battalion 25th Native Infantry, 1st battalion 29th Native Infantry, Dromedary Corps, and Rocket Corps. The whole made an excellent appearance. The sole point on which Scindiah makes difficulty (and that is maintained only by a solicitation that I will not urge it) is the putting us in the temporary possession of the fortress of Asseer. Doubtful, as we must be, of a Mahratta's good faith, it is awkward to leave so strong a post unoccupied in the rear of the troops who advance from the Deckan by Boorampore. The fort is on their line of communication. Still I shun the appearance of harshly extorting this cession from Scindiah after the many important points to which he has subscribed. I have directed it not to be pressed, satisfied that when I shall have crossed the Jumna he will take fright, and spontaneously offer to put Asseer-Gurh into our hands.

October 27th.—Yesterday morning I crossed the Jumna by a bridge of boats, admirably constructed. It is about 800 feet in length, and so firm, that when a number of elephants were on it

at the same time, it did not seem to yield. Soon after we came into camp, the Commissary-General was informed that an elephant had run sulky on the other side of the Jumna, and would neither step on the bridge nor swim the river. Four strong elephants were immediately ordered down to coerce him. Curiosity might have led me to witness the process, only that the sun (the thermometer being now at 98°, in the middle of the day) was too powerful to be wantonly faced. I was told that these four-footed corregidors, upon being bidden to punish the refractory animal, would beat the delinquent under the belly so severely with their trunks as to leave him incapable of moving, unless he submits. The persuasion, however, is said to be very speedily efficacious. I am told, that if an elephant who has once undergone the discipline sees, on any future occasion of his restiveness, the inflictors brought towards him, he will tremble violently and rush to do that which he had before refused to perform. I could not learn how the elephants were taught to understand that they were to beat their fellow, which appears to me the most extraordinary point in the business. I

have judged a little of this procedure to be requisite with Scindiah; therefore I have sent a letter saying that as I have passed the Jumna, I must know distinctly at once whether he accedes to my terms, or rejects them. One cannot wonder that he is in no haste to subscribe a treaty, which is to render his power very unimportant ever after. We are obliged to remain on this ground another day, in order that some works, destined to protect my bridge in our absence, may be completed.

October 31st.—After having made one march from the bridge to Loharrie, a second brought us yesterday to the ground which we now occupy close to the city of Jaloun. This is the capital of Nana Govind Rao, in whose territories we have been since we crossed the Jumna. He was a vassal of the Peishwa's; but the feudal supremacy was transferred to the Company by the late treaty. The country is in the highest degree rich as to soil and cultivation; but it bears evidence of the insecure condition of the inhabitants under a native government. Our camp at Loharrie was surrounded by seven villages, each of which was for-

tified in a manner to make the assault of it with regular infantry a serious undertaking. The Nana came out about three miles, and drew up his guards parallel to our column yesterday morning. The political agent entreated me not to ride along the line, but to pass it unnoticed, it having been the Nana's duty to meet me on my first entrance into his fief. The omission would have been heavily mulcted by his former liege lord. These things appear to us idle, but I believe our Indian diplomatists are in the right to be strict about them, as the native chiefs are apt to construe their essential duties according to the rate of our exacting these outward visible signs. The poor man took fright, and sent to know whether I would allow him to fire a salute of artillery in honour of my arrival, as he did not dare to do it without permission after such a manifestation of my displeasure. He was told that he might expend his powder without fear of increasing my wrath; yet the laws of the Medes and Persians ordained that I must keep him another day in waiting (to my own inconvenience as much as his) before I admitted him to an audience. Dowlut Rao Scindiah has swallowed his potion,

and Heaven knows it was a bitter drench for him. He agrees to co-operate with all his forces against the Pindarries; to prevent the establishment of any similar association in his dominions; to give free passage to the British troops through all his territories in pursuit of the Pindarries; and to put me in possession of two of his fortresses for the security of our communications. What is still more important than the whole of the above concession, he recognises my liberation from that article of treaty by which the British Government was bound not to negotiate with any state in whose concerns the Mahrattas had ever taken a part. As Scindiah and Holkar claimed this interference with every state in central India, we were precluded from making any league against the predatory system. I shall now rivet such shackles upon Scindiah and Holkar as that all the treachery they are at this moment meditating will be impotent. In fact, the downfall of the Mahrattas is achieved.

November 3rd.—We are two marches west of Jaloun, approaching the Scinde river, and skirting Scindiah's territories within a mile. The fertility of soil and activity of culture continue. Though

there is a regularity preserved among the followers of the camp beyond what I could have thought practicable, we cannot avoid doing injury to the standing crops. The villagers were astonished when they were told that an appraisement of the damage done should be made by a person on their part with one of our commissioners, and that the amount of loss should be made good in money. This is the first British army which has traversed the territory, so that the people expected from us the same indifference to their sufferings which they had experienced from Mahrattas. A respectable old man said to his neighbours, "Our own armies would never be so careful to prevent harm, and would never think of making compensation." On the 1st inst., I received Nana Govind Rao. He expected to be treated coldly and distantly; but I spoke to him frankly, and the effect was immediately visible in his altered countenance. He seemed very proud of a khelaut (dress of state) which was conferred upon him, earnestly professing that he would be always found a devoted adherent of the British Government.

November 4th.—We halted this day, in order to

let some treasure overtake us. I received Ameer-ool-Moolk, jagheerdar of Bownie. He wishes to give up his jagheerlands, and to take a pension instead; an arrangement very desirable for us; but he makes the stipulation that he shall be exempt from the jurisdiction of the courts, and exclusively amenable to the arbitrary power which the supreme government exercises in state cases. Nothing can more strongly mark the prematurity of our attempt to force upon the Indian population our judicial system than the abhorrence which every man of family among the natives entertains against being summoned, even as a witness, into one of our courts. On this account, it is almost impossible to obtain the testimony of any of them in criminal cases, where they have been present at the perpetration of the act. They will, in the preliminary examination, admit their having been present, but will stoutly swear that they did not happen to notice what was going forward, and can say nothing on the subject. With the lower classes the system is equally unpopular. The security which they enjoy in person and in property is duly estimated by them; but that they refer entirely to the prin-

ciple of Government. The inconvenience, the expense, and the delay which they experience in our civil proceedings, make them unreservedly lament that they are not subjected to military decisions.

November 5th.—Crossed the Pohooj river, the high banks of which are broken into confused ravines. In the afternoon, I received the Rajah of Dutteah, in whose territories we now are. As he is one of the feudatories who has manifested the most zealous attachment to the British Government, I spoke to him with particular cheerfulness; giving him also an excellent rifle gun (as he is a great sportsman), and a very fine sword. In the course of conversation, I said that I lamented the mischief which we had unavoidably committed by being obliged to encamp in such highly cultivated plains; a damage which I was sensible the pecuniary compensation made by us could not adequately meet. The Rajah answered,—"That is an inconvenience suffered but once, while the benefit I receive from British protection is enjoyed every year." These Bundela chiefs have one observance in their ceremonious politeness, which is certainly the result of a refined sentiment, and which was

found also among the Mexicans, or Peruvians. In visiting a superior, they are so far from apparelling themselves richly that they clothe themselves below their ordinary style of dress. The notion is, that it would be disrespectful should they happen to appear more splendid than the person to whom they came to pay homage. The Rajah was dressed in a plain cotton dyed olive, the favourite colour of the Bundelas, without ornament of any kind. When he had retired from the durbar, he repeatedly expressed to the political agent (Mr. Wauchope) his warm sense of the tone with which he had been received.

November 7th.—Adverting to the procrastination of Scindiah, I thought it might be advisable to make another march towards Gwalior. We, therefore, advanced to Mehewdy, where we are now encamped, at the distance of between forty and fifty miles from his capital. The treaty, however, arrived last night, executed by the Maharajah. He subscribes to all the conditions which I dictated, and has swallowed a bitter drench in so doing. I should have thought myself oppressive had he not been so thoroughly false a fellow. The

engaging to co-operate in the extirpation of the Pindarries, whom he has fostered—to whom he has plighted protection, and who really have hitherto constituted a material part of his strength, must be deeply mortifying. He grants free passage to the British forces through all parts of his dominions, in pursuit of the Pindarries; binds himself not to levy or enlist any troops during the ensuing operations; agrees that no division of his army shall move from its present station, and gives us temporary possession of the fortresses of Hindia and Asseer-Gurh, as security for his due observance of the above conditions. As those fortresses absolutely command the dominions belonging to him, between the Nerbudda and Tapty (the richest of his territories), the pledge is sufficient. Important as those points are, they fall short in that respect of our emancipation from the article before alluded to in our treaty of 1805, by which the British Government had debarred itself of the right of entering into relations with any state over which the Mahrattas claimed prerogatives. As the Mahrattas advanced this pretension with regard to every state of central India, except Jyepore—this

strange gratuitous engagement prevented our forming any confederacy which should check Mahratta combinations. Every state, quite to the Indus, has solicited me to take it under British protection; but I have, till now, been restricted from meeting the petition. In consequence of the present treaty, I shall immediately fashion this league of the Western States, guaranteeing to Scindiah or Holkar any acknowledged dues from those states which prescription has established. Before the signature of the treaty, it was distinctly explained to Scindiah that Kotah, Boondee, and Kerowly would be taken under British protection, with the above reservation of his interests as to any annual payment from them. They will, in our hands, be barriers interposed between him and Holkar. He must have felt that consequence; but he was unable to struggle. We are in a fair way of achieving arrangements which will afford quiet and safety to millions who have long been writhing under the scourge of the predatory powers, as well as under the ferocious cruelty of the Pindarries. I trust that my soul is adequately grateful to the Almighty for allowing me to be the

humble instrument of a change beneficial to so many of my fellow-creatures.

November 8th.—The Rajah of Dutteah came to Seeoondah, a mile in front of our camp, to solicit that I would take a morning's shooting in his rumnah or preserved chace, which is close to that town. He was so exceedingly eager on the point, that I could not but gratify a person so faithfully attached to the British state. Sport not having been my expectation, I was not disappointed in this morning's exercise with the Rajah. There were great quantities of antelopes and nylgaws; but as there was no cover, they were very difficult of approach. The ground being nearly bare and thinly studded with trees, there was no getting within shot of the animals on the elephants. I, therefore, had to advance stooping between two oxen, led by men who were hidden by a screen of leaves. My red coat, however, was so striking to those of the herd who happened to be wide of our line of direction, that they took the alarm repeatedly, and communicated it to those towards whom we were stalking, consequently I got only very distant shots, and did not more than

wound two nylgaws, one of which was afterwards overtaken and brought to camp. I had at least a good laborious walk, and I had the satisfaction of pleasing the Rajah in no ordinary degree, as my going upon a shooting party with him would be considered by the natives as a compliment of high rate.

November 9th.—I remained in the same camp, and received the young Subahdar of Jhansi. As the title implies, the chiefs of that territory were only officers entrusted by the Peishwa with the temporary command of the district; but one of them, who was a man of head as well as of courage, succeeded in making the subahdarship hereditary in his family, maintaining in other respects towards the Peishwa the relations of fealty with some pecuniary payments. The Subahdar is now our feudatory. The present one is a boy, smart, though not good-looking. I gave to him a handsome watch; and his attendants had some difficulty in preventing him from examining it minutely instead of attending to the forms of the durbar. This marks the difference between Mahratta and Mussulman education; for a lad of the same age, of the

latter description, would have observed all the ceremonies of the audience with the most scrupulous precision. In the morning, I have reviewed five hundred horse sent by the Rajah of Sumptur to join my force; an irregular crew, part armed with matchlocks and part with spears, yet useful to spare our cavalry the fatigue of patrol duties. As great jealousy exists between the Jhansi and Sumptur chiefs, I took care to balance the compliment of the review by praising in the durbar the valour of the Jhansi troops who had repelled an attempt of the Pindarries to plunder Mow-Raneepore, a rich town belonging to the Subahdar. This gave great satisfaction. From adverting to the possibility of such an enterprise on the part of the Pindarries, I had desired that the Jhansi troops should not join me, but guard their own territory.

November 12th.—On the 10th, we marched to Terait, our present camp. The principal object of the movement was, that I might not humiliate Scindiah by the appearance of holding the rod of compulsion over him after he had acceded to all my requisitions. Still, though we seem to have quitted the direct road to Gwalior, we are in this

camp only three miles more distant from that city (by another route) than we were at Seeoondah. I am just come from receiving the Rajah of Sumptur. The gravity of the durbar was put to the test by a whimsical accident. After the Rajah had tendered his nuzzur (the present offered to a superior) I requested him to sit down in an arm-chair. His weight, for he is very fat, enabled him to compass this easily; but when he was to rise, and be invested with a khelaut, he was so wedged that the chair stuck fast to him, and there was some trouble in disengaging him. Luckily, everybody preserved a steady countenance, so that there was no addition to the Rajah's embarrassment.

November 13th.—We marched to Talgong. The dreadful epidemic disorder which has been causing such ravages in Calcutta, and the southern provinces, has broken out in camp. It is a species of cholera morbus, which appears to seize the individual without his having had any previous sensations of malady. If immediate relief be not at hand, the person to a certainty dies within from three to five hours. An extraordinary prostration of strength is an almost instantaneous symptom in the disorder.

Hence our surgeons have first administered cordials, and then laudanum. The remedy has saved many, but numbers have died even under its early application. As yet, the malady has only attacked the natives, and among them it is nearly confined to the followers of the camp; so that it seems as if poor living made persons more liable to it. A disease of this nature, however, once it gain ground among a number of men, appears speedily to augment in acrimony, and I fear it will soon extend itself to other classes.

November 14th. Talgong.—Just as I apprehended, the malady has not only spread to the sepoys, but has attacked the Europeans. Four men of the 87th Regiment have died of it to-day. Ninety-seven deaths are reported to me as having occurred during yesterday and the forenoon of this day. There is an opinion that the water of the tanks, the only water which we have at this place, may be unwholesome and add to the disease. I do not think there is anything in the supposition, yet the feelings of the men should be consulted; therefore, I march to-morrow to reach the Pohooj river, though I must manage to provide carriage for above a thousand sick.

November 15th.—We crossed the Pohooj this morning, and encamped on its eastern bank, close to the little fort of Saleia. The march was terrible, from the number of poor creatures falling under sudden attacks of this dreadful infliction, and from the quantity of bodies of those who died on the waggons and were necessarily put out to make room for such as might be saved by the conveyance. It is ascertained that above five hundred have died since sunset yesterday evening. Ten of my own servants are among the number. The ground we are upon is sandy and dry, with the benefit of a running stream convenient to the camp. The difference of the soil from that which we have quitted, with the appearance of a rippling, though shallow, current, has persuaded our people generally that the disease will now stop. This imagination may be useful, for I think apprehension renders the frame more liable to the influence of distemper. Collateral causes may have increased the malignity of the disease, but it is evident that this is the same pestilence as has been raging in the Lower Provinces. We have information of its gradually ascending the river to Patna, Ghazeepore, Benares, and Cawnpore. It has arisen, undoubtedly,

from the irregularity of the seasons during the year. Though my tent is thoroughly ventilated, Fahrenheit's thermometer was this day, at 86° in it. Before sunrise, too, it was warm, although the air was really sharp at the same hour two mornings ago.

November 16th.—We continue on the same ground. This day has exhibited an apparent abatement of the contagion; that is, the cases sent to the hospital tents have been fewer, and the quality of attack on individuals less severe. Probably this is not owing to any real change in the atmosphere. The malady, I should suppose, seized, in the first instance, on all those who, from general habit or accidental circumstances, were predisposed to receive the infection; and in them it would rage with the greatest virulence. It made its impression more weakly, and thence more tardily, on persons whose bodily temperament was not so ready to admit it, yet could not ultimately resist it. Debility from previous illness, or from low living, seems to have invited the attack. Only four officers have yet been affected with the malady, and in each of the cases the symptoms, though distinct, were com-

paratively light. The diminution of the disease as to extent and violence, however sensible, still leaves its present amount a most afflicting calamity. I have lost four of my servants in the course of this day. As I rode through the different quarters of the camp in the morning, the scene was heart-breaking. Numbers of dead and dying camp-followers met the eye in every direction, and one heard on all sides the querulous lamentations of those who were more recently seized, and who, with a total loss of self-command, were resigning themselves to their fate, instead of recurring to medical aid. I had a gentleman with me supplied with a mixture of laudanum, spirit of hartshorn, and camphor, properly diluted with water; and he administered relief from his bottle to some poor creatures who would not have sought assistance, and were unlikely otherwise to meet it. Our surgeons have such unremitting employment in the hospital tents that they cannot go about the camp as their humanity would dictate.

November 17th.—Little improvement this morning. Many deaths have taken place among the Europeans and sepoys last night. Several officers

are ill, but none of the cases are alarming. The surgeons press me to remain on this ground another day, and of course I accede to their wish, though I think the encamping on the banks of the Betwah, a large and limpid river, would have material effect on the spirits of our people. Extravagant accounts of our calamity will assuredly be carried to Gwalior. They might have produced a wavering in Scindiah's good faith were it not for the treaty we have concluded with Ameer Khan. To this latter chief we guarantee those territories which he has wrested from states with whose losses we have no concern. He becomes the feudatory of the British Government, employing his army according to our direction for the present, and disbanding it on our requisition. Scindiah must feel that this force could be instantly let loose on his back, in addition to other strength of ours, even were this division reduced by the pestilence to inertness. But there is such spirit and science in our officers, that the very chips of this division, howsoever it might be thinned, would defeat any native army which could be brought against them.

November 18th.—No apparent good has attended

our remaining here. The numbers sent to the hospitals are great. The body-guard has above half its amount in hospital, with forty-two of its attendants. I have lost two servants in the day. There has been great difficulty in preventing all the camp-followers from taking to flight, which would paralyse the movements of the division. They have been principally quieted by the intimation that we were to cross the Betwah to-morrow. They know it is the road to Kalpee, and they thence think we tend towards home; whereas the object is to spread still more nets for the Pindarries by dividing my force. The delay of Sir Thomas Hislop's acting on the Nerbudda, though without doubt inevitable, is to be lamented heavily. Had we not put all matters here out of question, the consequences might have been seriously embarrassing. I detached Lieutenant-Colonel Philpot this morning with the 24th Light Dragoons, two squadrons of the 3rd Native Cavalry, a troop of Horse Artillery, and a battalion of infantry, with four guns. They are to proceed to the ford of Bojpoor, near Jhansi, where they will cross to the eastern bank. The detachment is employed to intercept any body of

Pindarries which may be driven in that direction.

November 19th.—We have achieved a march of fifteen miles with less inconvenience than I expected. Our camp is divided into two parts by the Betwah, a broad and clear stream, fordable here at Erich, but not passable between this and Bojpoor, a distance of fifty miles. The high banks here show that the river must, in the rainy season, be more than a quarter of a mile broad. At present, the water does not occupy more than half the extent. Its appearance, however, was sufficient to cause universal exultation among the troops and camp-followers, who attached a notion of purity of air to so considerable a river. Our encamping ground on both sides is high, dry, and open. The pestilence—for sheer pestilence it is of the worst description—will thence be mitigated as far as position can have influence. I believe that to be but little, except as refers to the spirits of the men, in whom despondency seems to invite the infection. Confidence, on the other hand, is not a security, for I have seen several persons fall, suddenly struck, while they were walking and conversing with cheerful vigour.

Some of them died in a few minutes, before assistance could be procured.

November 20th.—There is thus far a favourable change that few new cases, in proportion to former days, have been sent to the hospital, and the quality of the attacks appears not so virulent. One of our medical gentlemen and two European officers died in the course of last night. My sirdar bearer, the best native servant I have seen, was taken ill yesterday. Not above an hour before, he had gone to his brother (who lives with an officer in the camp) to prevail on him to take medicine, as the brother was seized with the disease. He succeeded in overcoming the reluctance of his brother, and the latter is now recovered. When the distemper assailed my poor man, no persuasion could induce him to take medicine, nor did the gradual failure of his strength make him relax in his obstinacy. He died this day a victim to his prejudice. A letter has been received from Lieutenant-Colonel Adams, commanding the Nagpore subsidiary force, apprizing me that he has at length (on the 14th) received from Sir Thomas Hislop the long expected order for crossing the Nerbudda. His division, or

those of Sir Thomas Hislop, which cross the river, will not be likely to find any Pindarries. I believe the whole of them have evacuated their lands and retired westward, in consequence of learning that Scindiah, Holkar, and Ameer Khan had sacrificed them in the recent engagements with us.

November 21st.—There is an unquestionable diminution in the activity of the pestilence. Two officers have been reported dead in the course of the day, but they had been attacked at Saleia, and had never arrived here. The men are much cheered by our present situation. A distressing circumstance occurred in camp to-day. A large elephant was seized with one of those fits of frenzy which sometimes break forth in the males. The mohout's son, a lad, was riding the animal, but was totally unable to restrain it; and the elephant ran among the tents, attacking other elephants, or camels, or horses, wherever he found them. The mohout learning this, and anxious for the safety of his son, hastened to the elephant, who, so far from being placated by the voice of his feeder, ran violently at the man. The poor fellow endeavoured to creep into a tent, but the

elephant caught him by the leg with his trunk, dragged him out, and trampled him to death before the eyes of his son. The elephant afterwards killed a camel. A powerful elephant was brought out to subdue the enraged creature. A large ball of spices was given to him to animate him for the combat. He was immediately charged by the rioter, and received the shock with perfect self-possession, extending his hind legs to give him greater firmness. When the mad elephant was somewhat exhausted by repeated fruitless efforts, the other became the assailant in his turn, and with such success that he soon drove his antagonist out of the camp. The defeated combatant fled for shelter to a hollow in a ravine, where he was so wedged that he was easily secured with chains. Accounts have just reached us that the Peishwa, on the 6th instant, attacked the Residency at Poonah. No circumstance is communicated further than that the Peishwa was repulsed with great loss. The attack must have been most treacherous, and made with enormous superiority of numbers. We have to rejoice in the issue of this attempt, not less on account of the safety of so valuable a

person as Mr. Elphinstone, than on the infliction which the perfidy of the Peishwa receives. He ought to have been removed from the musnud when we were forced to punish his former machinations.

November 22nd.—No one who had not witnessed the dismay and melancholy which have lately pervaded our people, can comprehend my sensations on hearing laughter in several parts of the camp to-day. All are in spirits. The separation of the camp into five divisions along the river gives every advantage to the westerly wind now blowing; the east wind reigned during our sufferings. Still the malady is not extinct. The cases which now occur are of persons on whom the disease could not lay serious hold, therefore the attack appears in a mitigated form. Many put themselves on the sick list who might bear up against the degree of seizure. For three days I had repeated sensations of giddiness with faint sickness. I recurred to medicine, without subjecting myself to the more decided treatment thought necessary where the distemper was professed, which would at once have rated me ill, and have caused agitation in the

camp. I believe few persons have escaped without some little indisposition.

November 23rd.—All going on well in the camp, but the loss is heavy among the sick left at Saleia. A generous exertion of a soldier of the 87th Regiment was mentioned to me to-day. They were bringing the poor fellow in a dooly (a kind of hammock suspended on a pole) from Saleia hither. He saw a sepoy of the escort fall with a sudden seizure of the pestilence, and struggling in convulsions. The European gallantly quitted the dooly, placed the sepoy in it, and walked by the side of the dooly till he delivered the sepoy to his regiment in this camp. With grief I add, that neither of the poor fellows survived the night. The detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Philpot has lost two officers (of the 24th Light Dragoons) and many men. The country people were zealous in transporting the sick for him; in return for which I have sent presents of money to each village.

November 25th.—No new case of the distemper has occurred in camp for these two days. One hundred and seventy-two convalescent Europeans and ninety-eight convalescent sepoys have arrived

from Saleia. It was exhilarating to see the joy of the poor fellows on rejoining their comrades.

November 27th.—Yesterday and to-day have passed without anything particular, except that five or six attacks of the malady have proved the pestilence not to be entirely gone. The cases were, however, slight. The Pindarries appear to have entirely quitted the territories which they occupied, and to have assembled at Seronje. The slow progress of the troops from the Deckan is heavily to be lamented. My plan rested on rapidity of execution, and its complete success in this quarter justified the principle.

November 29th.—Last night some bustle was occasioned in our camp by a pack of wolves, which came to the very centre of it. They carried off a tame antelope which was kept by a native sportsman to aid him in creeping up to the herds, and they likewise made free with some goats. Though it was clear moonlight, they seemed so confident in their numbers as to have little fear of the sentries. The circumstance having occasioned conversation, an officer mentioned his having seen a wolf the other morning course down an antelope,

It cost the wolf a longer and more persevering exertion on the plain than a greyhound could have maintained, yet it also required a degree of speed beyond what I should have supposed the wolf to have possessed, as the antelope is a very fleet animal.

November 30th.—The Rajah of Sumptur having shown particular attention in providing conveyances for men of Lieutenant-Colonel Philpot's detachment who fell sick on the march, I sent to him a handsome watch in token of my obligation. He was so gratified by this civility, that he fired a salute in acknowledgment of it from the artillery on his ramparts. He also sent a vakeel to my camp to return his thanks. So much weight with these people has a little appearance of thinking them worthy of notice! From the vakeel we have learnt that the same disease which has afflicted us so severely had broken out in the city of Sumptur before we crossed the Jumna, and had carried off near two hundred persons. At Chutturcote, about one hundred and twenty miles to the south-east of this place, there is at this season a mela, or religious festival and fair, at which great numbers of

the natives assemble. The meeting had scarcely commenced when the pestilence broke out, and destroyed so many in the first day that the others fled with the utmost expedition from the place. The particulars of the action at Poonah have arrived, and are most creditable to the gallantry of Mr. Elphinstone and Lieutenant-Colonel Burr (who commanded our troops), as well as to the firmness of our soldiers. The Peishwa, in consonance to his habitual profligate treachery, attempted by a sudden attack to crush the Resident and the small force which the latter had with him. His Highness employed not less than 20,000 cavalry, and about half that number of infantry, in this magnanimous effort. Our force consisted of only one European battalion, and three native battalions without cavalry. On the Peishwa's troops opening their cannonade, our little force advanced, assailed the multitude, and speedily cleared the field. Mr. Elphinstone's account is dated on the 11th, up to which period none of the Peishwa's troops had ventured to show themselves again near the British camp. Brigadier-General Smith, with his division, was expected to reach Poonah next day.

December 2nd.—For the sake of taking fresh ground we have shifted the camp to the other side of Erich, continuing still as near to the banks of the river as the deep ravines will allow. In passing amidst the ruins of public buildings which attest the former extent and opulence of Erich, now a mere village, one cannot help feeling painfully the consequences of that predatory warfare which has ravaged these countries ever since the Mahrattas established themselves in this part of India. The destruction of any monuments of human industry or taste seems an injury to mankind, but the sensation is keener when one reflects how much of individual misery must have attended the convulsion by which the desolation was effected.

December 4th.—I have received information that the Pindarries have marched in a northerly direction, as if going to Gwalior; and the rumour is strong that Scindiah has invited them thither to back him in an intended dissolution of the recent treaty. Did I think Scindiah, cramped as he is, unlikely to venture on a step so desperate and irretrievable, still nothing in war must be disregarded because it is improbable. I therefore send orders to

Lieutenant-Colonel Philpot to march with all expedition from Burwa-Sangor to the Sonari ford, on the Sinde, whither I also shall repair with the division, leaving my heavy cannon and stores at Sumptur. I have sent to apprize Scindiah of this movement, stating that I take this step in order to be at hand to cover him from the Pindarries, should he be doubtful of his own troops. He will understand this perfectly. At Sonari we shall be much nearer to Gwalior than when we were at Seeoondah.

December 6th.—Having encamped at Emroke, we received the pleasing intelligence that Brigadier-General Smith had, on the 17th of November, dispersed the Peishwa's army and taken possession of Poonah. Scindiah has had this information some days; otherwise he would have felt such disposition to imitate the example of the Rajah of Nagpore and Holkar as all his dissimulation could not have concealed. Those two chiefs have, with the most profligate treachery, been collecting forces to act against us. They are luckily, each of them, hampered beyond what either calculates.

December 7th.—Encamped at Sajanore. The

country through which we have passed, and all around us, is of a singular nature. The base is a perfect flat; but there arise out of it a great number of long narrow masses of rocks, high, and broken into very picturesque forms. The masses are insulated, with great intervals, yet all keeping the same direction. The appearance may be best described by saying that they look like remnants of many immense parallel walls, in each of which the gaps prodigiously exceed the parts left upright.

December 8th.—Encamped at Bandere, a town 13
belonging to Scindiah. Numerous Mahomedan buildings, of handsome structure, though now much dilapidated, show that it must have been a place of considerable importance; it is now poor and small; everything withers under a Mahratta government. The impression made by my present march has been apparent. Scindiah sent to the Resident to ask if I doubted his Highness's sincerity in any point. The minister said that if I had any suspicions Scindiah would take up his abode at the Residency, or would send his father-in-law, or the fathers of his sons-in-law, to remain as hostages. The Resident judiciously declined an offer in which

there could be no advantage; frankly exposing to the minister at the same time my title to complain that the Pindarries had advanced so far without opposition from his Highness's troops. Lieutenant-Colonel Philpot has crossed the Sinde, and placed himself between the Pindarries and Gwalior. It is a hazarded movement, but perhaps requisite in the peculiar situation of affairs.

December 11th.—The intersection of the country with ravines impracticable for our artillery obliged us to make such a circuit that we have been forced to divide our route from Bandere to our present position at Sonari into three marches. The scarcity of water in these tracts narrows the choice of resting-places. Imleah and Semai, our intermediate camps in the Dutteah Rajah's territory, were in the midst of highly cultivated plains. The land as it approaches the Sinde becomes evidently coarser, yet it is well tilled. The ground here near the river is broken into ravines in a very extraordinary manner. We are now within twenty-eight miles of Scindiah's camp, so that we ought to be neighbourly.

December 12th.—We have received an account

that on the 27th November, the Rajah of Nagpore attacked the British Residency, but was beaten off. Nothing can exceed the baseness and ingratitude of this conduct. It is to be hoped he will have to pay dear for it. On the symptoms of his evil disposition, Brigadier-General Doveton was ordered to send a force to Nagpore by Sir Thomas Hislop, and I had at the same time ordered Brigadier-General Hardyman to march thither with the King's 17th Foot, a battalion of Native Infantry, and the 8th regiment of Native Cavalry. A reinforcement of a battalion of Native Infantry with three troops of regular cavalry and two Galloper guns, under Lieutenant-Colonal Gohan, would reach the Residency on the night of the 28th November. The communication with Nagpore is now cut off by small parties of the Rajah's cavalry.

December 13th.—Astonishing alarm was created at Gwalior by our approach. The Resident has quieted it by public assurances that no hostile step was to be apprehended from our proximity. The body of Pindarries which had been pushing for Gwalior, on learning that Lieutenant-Colonel

Philpot with his force was between them and the city, turned to the south-west, pointing towards the Kerowly fords of the Chumbal. Toolsie Bhye, the stepmother and guardian of young Holkar, on hearing of the Peishwa's having taken the field, collected the army, marched southward with the proclaimed intention of supporting the Peishwa, and invited Seetoo to join her with his Durrah of Pindarries then on its retreat to the west. The old lady soon found herself beset by the division from Guzerat, the division of Sir Thomas Hislop, and the division of Sir John Malcolm. The gallant army was seized with a desperate trepidation. Holkar sent to beg pardon for this freak of his mother's; asserting (which was true) that he had warned Seetoo against approaching his camp; and an answer was returned to him that matters might be accommodated. Ameer Khan appears to stand firm to his engagements.

December 14th.—The Grand Bazaar which is in the very middle of the camp, was thrown into excessive confusion at three o'clock this morning by a pack of wolves. The animals were so bold that they were with difficulty driven away.

December 16th.—The detail of the affair at Nagpore has reached us. The repulse of the Rajah has been a glorious effort of bravery on the part of our troops. The Resident, Mr. Jenkins, had with him only two battalions of Native Infantry, his own escort of two companies, and three troops of the 6th Native Cavalry; the whole not exceeding 1350 rank and file. The force led against them by the Rajah was estimated at 20,000, with thirty-five pieces of cannon. The action was renewed at intervals during several hours, but at length terminated in the complete discomfiture of the Rajah. The despicable animal had the meanness after the defeat to send a message to the Resident, professing his sorrow for what had happened, (his sorrow at not having been able to murder an ambassador residing on the faith of alliance at his court!) and his hope that matters might be restored to the ancient footing. Mr. Jenkins answered that the Governor-General alone could determine that point. We shall speedily have troops enough at Nagpore to put affairs on a much better footing than the ancient has proved. Our loss in the action was nearly 300 killed and wounded.

December 19th.—About ten miles from this place there is a rocky hill covered with temples, built by the Jeyns or Jynes, though none of the sect are to be found in this vicinity. Many of the structures are recent, having been raised, as I am told, at the expense of wealthy individuals of that communion residing in Delhi, Agra, and other large cities. Each of the temples contains an image of Budh, of very old sculpture, and discoloured apparently from having been long buried in times of persecution. Discussions excited by these edifices have enabled me to obtain more precise information respecting the Jynes than I before possessed. Though connected by religious faith, they do not live together in any part of India as a separate tribe, but are intermixed in society like the Quakers in England. They are a peculiarly mild people, holding the doctrine of the metempsychosis (erroneously ascribed in Europe to all the inhabitants of India), and thence refraining from destroying anything that has life. As far as I can learn they are pure Deists; the image of Budh being no object of worship with them, nor considered as a representation of the Deity. The

tranquil and complacent countenance which always distinguishes the figures of Budh is said to be an exemplification of that abstracted devotion of the mind requisite, according to their notion, in the grateful admiration of the Supreme Indescribable Being. Thus, the image inculcates the tone of adoration, but is not the object of it. From sifting various accounts, and from many forcible indications, I am persuaded that this was the earliest faith prevalent in India, and that it was overset by the intrusion of the Brahminical system. The Budhists have evidently suffered bitter persecution from the Brahmins; it is proved by an adage which I am told they frequently utter at this day, "Should you find yourself between a Hindoo and a tiger, trust to the mercy of the tiger rather than to that of the Hindoo." There is in this phrase a peculiarity very remarkable. It would seem to imply that the black race were not the aborigines of this part of India, where, indeed, the natural influence of climate seems to produce a bronzed tint like that of such Portuguese or Spaniards as in Europe are much exposed to the sun.

December 22nd.—For change of ground, the

multitude of our followers rendering it difficult to keep our camp long free from offensiveness, we have shifted our position to Oochar, a spot three miles lower down the river than Sonari. We are close to two vast and elevated masses of granitic stone, the top of each of which appears perfectly level. Many suspicious symptoms have been detected in Scindiah's conduct. It is quite clear to me that had we not hastened to fix ourselves so near him, he would have taken the field in favour of the Peishwa at the same time that Holkar did.

December 24th.—An official report has been received that the native commandant of Jubbulpore (in the Nagpore service) attempted, on the 19th, to stop Brigadier-General Hardyman, who was proceeding to the relief of the Resident with eight companies of the King's 17th Foot and the 8th regiment of Native Cavalry. The enemy was immediately charged and routed, losing above 300 killed and wounded on the spot, with four brass field-pieces. Our loss was only thirteen killed or wounded. After the action, the inhabitants of Jubbulpore constrained the armed fugitives, who

had taken refuge there, to abandon the city, which with the fort was surrendered to our troops, or rather the latter were invited into it. The city is large, and is very material as a military station. Brigadier-General Doveton arrived at Nagpore on the 12th, so that the aid of Brigadier-General Hardyman was, in fact, superfluous. His having been ordered to move in that direction is nevertheless fortunate, as this little advantage will make beneficial impression throughout that part of the country.

December 27th.—We have just fired a royal salute for an important victory gained by Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Hislop over Holkar's army, on the 21st, at Mahidpore, near Oojein. The patience and moderation with which we strove to wean that Government from its project of succouring the Peishwa was misconstrued into a doubt of our ability to coerce it, and a tone of the utmost insolence was assumed by Holkar's sirdars. They sent to advise Sir Thomas Hislop to be cautious how he interfered with them, as he would find in case of rupture that he had not to deal with raw levies but with Holkar's veterans. To crush that

army was therefore indispensable. Sir Thomas Hislop appears to have done it effectually, most of Holkar's infantry having been destroyed, and all his artillery (above seventy pieces) taken. It remains to be seen whether this event will confirm Scindiah in his pacific conduct, or whether a point of honour may urge him to the desperate effort of a battle with this division (now weakened by detachments) in the hope of withdrawing pressure from the wreck of Holkar's army.

December 28th.—The advantage of changing our ground has been made sensible to us all. Our last position was in heavy clotty soil, whereas here the sand predominates. From Christmas evening till this afternoon we have had heavy rain, which would have rendered the clay very uncomfortable. The wind has shifted to the north, and the clouds are dispelled. I am told that a similar fall of rain occurs in Bundelcund every year at this season, with not more variation than three or four days sooner or later.

December 29th.—Our guns have again fired for the dispersion of the Rajah of Nagpore's army on the 16th, by Brigadier-General Doveton. The

batteries were stormed with little loss on our side, and sixty-six fine brass guns were taken. The Rajah had previously surrendered himself; an evident collusion with the sirdars whom he left at the head of his army. Should they be successful, he would of course be freed; were they beaten, he could plead his personal submission as a pretension for his being left on the musnud.

1818.

JANUARY 1st.—I this day received the native officers of all the troops in camp at a levee in the durbar tent. It is an attention very flattering to their feelings, as it exalts them in the eyes of the soldiers. They expressed their gratification strongly to some of the European officers.

January 12th.—We have remained in the same camp, the situation of which is as salubrious and as convenient for good water as it is advantageous for holding Scindiah in check. Brigadier-General Watson, with a battalion of the 7th Native Infantry, and another of the 26th, has joined us. We have received the account that Lieutenant-Colonel McMorine, on the 5th, attacked, and routed with considerable slaughter, a body of 2000 horse and 3000 foot of the Nagpore troops, which had reassembled at Sreenuggur, after the dispersion of the army by Brigadier-General Doveton on the 16th

December. He took four guns, the whole of the artillery they possessed. The enemy, though they had taken up a strong position, made but a wretched resistance. On the defeat of their cavalry, which was first charged, the infantry immediately ran away to get off through the narrow streets of the town.

January 13th.—The definitive treaty of Holkar's submission has arrived. It would, at all events, have been just to punish that Government for its extraordinary faithlessness. After having anxiously solicited to be taken under British protection, and having received the kindest assurances of it, the Regent Bhye (stepmother to young Holkar), on the Peishwa's taking the field, immediately collected Holkar's army, and declared the resolution of supporting her master, as the Peishwa was termed by her. This proof of the persisting adherence of the Mahratta states to each other, added to the great amount of force produced by the Regent, with the aid of but a moderate sum from the Peishwa, rendered it necessary to reduce the future means of Holkar to very narrow compass. The territory now left to him will not at

present yield to him above sixteen lacs of rupees, or £200,000. yearly; but after five or six years of decent management it will more than double that revenue. Part of his possessions is assigned to Ameer Khan, who with fifty-two battalions and a large force of cavalry might have given us no little trouble, had we not made him see that his security and his interest would be better consulted by his attaching himself to us than by his taking a contrary part. Zalim Sing, of Kotah, gets another large portion of Holkar's territories. Extensive districts, on both banks of the Nerbudda, are ceded to us, which will be available either for exchange or as provision for those who have served us. The troops which Holkar disbands, by an article of the treaty, will probably endeavour to keep together and maintain themselves by plunder, so as to require our crushing them before they establish a new association of Pindarries. Scindiah, who has hardly disguised his intention of taking the field, should our game become embarrassed, will probably now be satisfied that he has nothing for it but to be quiet.

January 18th.—A royal salute was fired, and

the troops were drawn out in line this morning, as a respect to the Queen's birthday. The appearance of the troops was very fine. I had directed the Resident at Gwalior to give notice of the ceremony, and to say that if any of Scindiah's sirdars wished to take the opportunity of seeing so considerable a body of our troops, they should be received with all possible attention. None of them, however, availed themselves of the intimation.

January 19th.—Two agreeable articles of intelligence have reached us. Roshun Khan, Roshun Beg, and Panim Sing, sirdars of Holkar's army, had declared their discontent at the treaty, and had retired to Rampoora. They endeavoured to collect, at that place, a force with which they might act independently. Their habitual influence with Holkar's troops occasioned many to flock to this new standard; and the chiefs furnished themselves with artillery from fortresses in which friends of theirs commanded. Fortunately, Major-General Brown, who was detached with cavalry from this division, surprised them in the midst of their preparations. They were routed with much slaughter, and the loss of their artillery, amounting to eleven brass

guns. Panim Sing was taken, but the other two chiefs escaped. It appears that these sirdars had caused the Regent, Toolsie Bhye, to be privately put to death the evening before the battle of Mehidpore, because she attempted to resist the plan of fighting the British army. The other occurrence was the dispersion of the Pindarries who had stuck to Kurreem Khan and Wassil Mahommed in their flight. The number was about sixteen hundred, all finely mounted. To escape from Captain Grant, who was moving against them with a body of Mysore horse, they had made a very long march during the night, and had made but a short halt, when they were attacked by the 5th regiment of Native Cavalry, under Major Clarke, detached from the division of Lieutenant-Colonel Adams. Between nine hundred and a thousand of the Pindarries were killed in the charge or in the subsequent pursuit. Namdar Khan, a chief of note among them, was killed among the first. It is as yet uncertain whether Kurreem Khan and Wassil Mahommed escaped, since there could be no knowledge of the individuals who were cut down in a scattered chase of some miles. The fate of this

party will show to the natives that no lightness of equipment or exoneration from baggage will enable an enemy to evade long the combinations of our movements.

January 22nd.—The confidence and the real strength given to the native troops by our discipline has been most strikingly exemplified by late occurrences. We have just received the official report of an uncommonly gallant resistance made by a small body of ours against a very superior force. A battalion of Bombay Native Infantry, barely 580 rank and file, under Captain Staunton, had been sent to reinforce our garrison at Poonah. On its way it halted at a village, within three miles of which the Peishwa had happened to encamp for the day with his army. His Highness heard of our battalion, and thought it a fine opportunity to gain an easy triumph. He therefore caused the village to be assaulted by 3000 Arabs. Making their attack with great courage, the Arabs penetrated into the village; but almost every man who entered it perished by the bayonets of our sepoys. Further attempts were made, but with less vigour and with severe loss to the assail-

ants. At length the Peishwa abandoned the enterprise; and as the approach of Brigadier-General Smith did not allow his Highness to remain in the vicinity, the battalion found itself at liberty to prosecute its march next day.

Jan. 26th.—For the sake of fresh ground, we have this day shifted our position to the vicinity of Launche, about seven miles from Oochar. There is here a ford across the Sinde, somewhat nearer to Gwalior than that contiguous to our last camp. No reports of consequence have been received. It appears that it was not Namdar Khan, but another chief of the name of Namdar, who was killed when the Pindarries were surprised by Major Clarke. Kurreem Khan and Wassil Mahommed escaped on that occasion. They have fled towards Bhopaul, with about four hundred horse, in the utmost distress and despair.

February 2nd.—We have moved to Kinjowlie, nine miles from Launche, still keeping along the Sinde. Wassil Mahommed and Namdar Khan have sent to Lieutenant-Colonel Adams, who was in active pursuit of them, to offer their surrender on an assurance that their lives would be spared.

This promise was given, so that they probably yielded themselves immediately. Their negotiator, a Bhopaul officer, did not disguise their miserable condition. He represented them as starving in the jungles, amid which they had separated in parties of eight and ten. Kurreem Khan, either from sickness or a wound, had quitted them with the purpose of hiding himself in some village.

February 4th.—Jeswunt Rao Bhow, commanding a detached army of Scindiah's at Jawud, had furnished Cheetoo with provisions while he was retreating with his body of Pindarries through the territories under the Bhow's rule; and he had further sent to Cheetoo intelligence of the approach of our cavalry, which otherwise would have surprised that chief. These facts were perfectly ascertained; yet Jeswunt Rao was informed they should be overlooked if he gave no fresh cause of complaint. Our moderation only encouraged his laxity. It was discovered that subsequent to the warning he had enrolled a large number of the troops which had seceded from Holkar's army on the signature of the treaty, and that Pindarries newly sheltered were actually in his camp. He

was required to dismiss the former, to surrender the latter, and to give up to us the two officers who had been the more immediate instruments in this violation of the articles. Information being received that the Bhow's cavalry were saddled, and meant to escort the Pindarries out of our reach, Major-General Brown directed a squadron of our cavalry to occupy the road by which the escape was intended, while he should renew his remonstrances to the Bhow. Jeswunt Rao showed little attention to the General's representations; and in the meantime the Bhow's infantry advancing with cannon opened a fire on our squadron. Major-General Brown, on this hostile aggression, immediately attacked the camp, where he made considerable slaughter. The broken troops of the Bhow took refuge in the fortified town of Jawad; but Major-General Brown soon blew open a gate with one of his twelve-pounders, and forced them to throw down their arms. Jeswunt Rao Bhow escaped with a few mounted followers by the opposite gate. Twelve pieces of cannon were taken, with much other booty. Scindiah had been apprized by me that this chastisement would

be inflicted if the Bhow persevered in his infractions of the treaty. I know not how his Highness will relish the realization of the threat. This flagellation of a refractory general and petulant troops is no bad hint to the rest of Scindiah's sirdars, or indeed to the Maharajah himself. An official account is received that Cheetoo endeavoured to pass the Nerbudda at different places, in order to join the Peishwa, but was prevented by our guards on the opposite bank. He then directed his course eastward, keeping near to the river. Lieutenant-Colonel Heath, stationed at Hindia, on the southern bank, heard of him, crossed with a detachment in boats during the night, and completely surprised Cheetoo's camp. The chief himself escaped. His son, his brother, and a great number of his men were killed. Everything belonging to the party was taken, including some hundred horses and camels. Lieutenant-Colonel Adams had heard of Cheetoo's easterly march, and was advancing to look for him, so that the unhappy wretch is not likely to find repose. It is quite curious how that great body, of from twenty-five to thirty thousand horsemen, has been dissolved

within the short space of ten weeks. They have expiated by dreadful sufferings the horrid cruelties which they had antecedently exercised upon others.

February 19th.—Nothing worthy of notice has occurred since the last date. Our only military intelligence is of skirmishes against the cavalry with which the Peishwa endeavours to cover his retreat. On all these occasions the superiority of our disciplined native cavalry is brilliantly displayed. The Peishwa has been forced to retreat beyond the Kistna. He had the villainy to send a secret offer of poisoning Gokla, the general of his army, if in consequence we would admit him to terms; for, by way of exonerating himself, he taxed Gokla as the author of all the violences at Poonah; adding that Gokla kept him (the Peishwa) in thraldom, and would not allow him to throw himself on British generosity. It is superfluous to say that the proposition was met with undisguised abhorrence. All appearances at Gwalior being tranquil, we left the banks of the Sinde six days ago, and are now encamped close to our bridge over the Jumna. Four months only will

have elapsed to-morrow since the assembling of this division at Secundra. The actual campaign lasted but three months, and in that short space of time the alteration wrought in central India is so extraordinary that one feels oneself still too near it to comprehend it thoroughly. In security, in tranquillity, and in revenue, our gain is very great; in honour the return is not, I trust, less ample; for justice and liberality have been as conspicuous as valour in the conduct of all our officers. Our Bundeelah allies have shown a glowing gratitude for the extinction of the Pindarries. To the Rajah of Dutteah, who had most distinguished himself by activity in procuring supplies of grain for our camp, I presented two brass six-pounder field-pieces. He was wild with transport at such a favour; and as he did not get the guns into his town till eight at night, he began at that hour a salute with them which I suspect was only stopped at last by failure of ammunition. When we quitted the Sinde, Brigadier-General Watson was sent with three battalions of Native Infantry, the 7th Native Cavalry, and the battering-train, to join Major-General Marshall at Bairseah.

February 21st.—This morning we re-crossed the Jumna, and are encamped at Ooreea. As a large elephant loaded with baggage was coming into the camp, he took some offence at another which was not of equal strength, and chased the latter among the tents. At length the pursuer overtook the fugitive, and seized its tail with his trunk; but instead of twisting off a piece of the tail, an injury often inflicted by elephants on each other, he seemed satisfied with alarming the object of his anger, and did not offer any harm to it with either his trunk or tusks. Some spearmen ran to deliver the smaller elephant; on this the rioter desisted; and, as if conscious that he had done wrong in occasioning so much bustle, the docile animal salaamed to the people, and held up its leg to have a chain put upon it. The salaam, or compliment which they are instructed by their drivers to pay to persons of rank, is performed by the elephant's bending back his proboscis and touching his own forehead with it. In other cases, it is done at the command of the driver, but in this instance it was spontaneous, which is an extremely curious circumstance, as it evinces the comprehen-

sion of the animal that the gesture was conciliatory or respectful.

February 24th.—Reached Cawnpore. I was met by a letter from the Resident at Lucknow, mentioning that the Nawab Vizeer, in consequence of learning the shortness of my intended stay at that station, wanted to set off by dawk to pay his attentions; that is, he proposed to travel post in a palankeen by relays of bearers arranged by the post office. The notion of undertaking an exertion which required a sacrifice of all the conveniences held indispensable by an Indian prince towards ordinary movement evinces great eagerness to prove respect; perhaps I might more justly say to indulge attachment, for I really believe such to be the Nawab Vizeer's unaffected feeling. His devotion has been cheaply purchased, since we have been no more than simply just towards him; but then justice is so rare among the natives themselves that they feel it marvellously when they happen to be the object of its application. The Resident repressed the plan by saying, that on account of the uncertainty which would attend my motions I had directed him to entreat that the

Nawab Vizeer might not come forward from Lucknow.

February 27th.—Yesterday the last of the troops destined to reoccupy these cantonments settled themselves quietly in their barracks. This early return to quarters is not only important for the health of the men, (the hot winds being near at hand,) but is a great diminution of expense for the Company. The magnitude of the force which we had in the field unavoidably occasioned a prodigious charge. It was hoped that its amount would prevent contest. At all events, the bringing forward such strength was deemed a sure mode of rendering the completion of our purposes speedy, and in this we had not been disappointed. The cessions of territory which the unprovoked hostility of Holkar and the Nagpore Rajah has forced us to exact from those princes, will have an effect beyond the merely paying for the troops required to preclude a repetition of such wanton attacks. The corps kept in advance for that purpose will in their forward position defend our old frontier, as well as if it were their former line, so that no addition need be made to our establishment beyond

three or four battalions of invalids to garrison fortresses. The difference between keeping these latter embodied, or the paying them pensions in their several districts will be trifling. The real result will therefore be that the Bengal establishment will have about twelve battalions of its Native Infantry paid by the ceded territory; which comes to the same thing as throwing an annual sum equal to the pay of those troops into the treasury. If the Peishwa be at length as decisively subdued as we have reason to expect, a large portion will be taken for the Company from his dominions; in which case, this campaign instead of being burdensome to the Company's finances will have benefited them extremely.

February 28th.—The fort of Sattarah, in the Peishwa's country, has been taken by Brigadier-General Smith, after two hours' bombardment. Our people have at last been taught the use of mortars, which they seem never to have considered before. The capture of Sattarah is useful, from the position of the fort; but it is further so from the habitual contemplation of that place by the Mahrattas as the heart of their empire. The

Rajah of Sattarah is the hereditary sovereign of the Mahrattas; and, though held a prisoner by the Peishwa, who (like the French Maires du Palais) usurped the powers of Government, he is still nominally the chief. Bajee Rao's family being Brahminical, a member of it cannot be a sovereign; but Bajee Rao reigns under the title of Peishwa, equivalent to Vizeer, and keeps up the farce of asking once a year the orders of the Rajah, whom he retains in captivity. Aware of the probability that we should endeavour to give the Rajah an independent sovereignty, the Peishwa, on his flight from Poonah, took the unfortunate Prince, who is only fourteen years of age, out of the fort, and has been dragging the young man about with him. The Prince's life runs great risk from this jealousy. Kurreem Khan, Cheetoo or Seetoo, and Namdar Khan, principal Pindarry chiefs, have surrendered themselves unconditionally. The former was in Jawud, concealed by Juswunt Rao Bhow, when the town was taken. Not being able to get a horse in time to escape with the Bhow, he hid himself in an obscure corner, and at night he got out at the gate unnoticed, from being without

clothes. Attempting to scramble over some rocky hills, he hurt his feet so much as to be unable to proceed, and in the morning he called to some straggling sepoys and requested them to take him to the General. He has been perfectly well treated, as is the case with the others, who, finding all retreat cut off, threw themselves on the mercy of Lieutenant-Colonel Adams. They all agree in the same story, that Scindiah sent a confidential agent to plight his assurance of support to them if they would direct their course to Gwalior. The agent particularly told them that Umbajee Punt (one of Scindiah's generals), with eight battalions and thirty-four pieces of cannon, would join them in the first instance, and that further succour should be afforded as they advanced. Umbajee Punt did move from the neighbourhood of Oojein with the force specified, pretending that his troops had mutinied for want of pay, and had brought him eastward in restraint, which would have otherwise been a violation of the treaty; but before that force could pass the Chumbul, the Pindarries had been completely dispersed. At the time, I believed this movement of Umbajee Punt's to be made with

the object mentioned, and by the secret direction of Scindiah; but the principle of manifesting our forbearance to the last prevented any notice being taken of the step, other than by the Resident's telling Scindiah's minister, laughingly, that he must not imagine us really duped.

March 2nd.—Yesterday we crossed the Ganges; but in order to fashion our new camp properly, we did not advance more than two miles from its bank. This day we have reached Oonaum, and are attended by Hafez Ali Khan, who is deputed by the Nawab Vizeer for the purpose, with tents, cooks, and a suwarry, besides an escort of cavalry and infantry. The troops contrast admirably with the body-guard, and the 2nd battalion 25th Native Infantry, which accompany me.

March 4th.—We encamped yesterday at Nya Serai, and this day we halted at Boodleke Thukeea, on our approach to which we were met by Imteeanz-oo-Dowlah (formerly called Nusser-oo-Deen),* the Vizeer's eldest son, and the minister Mootummud-oo-Dowlah. They came in great state, but breakfasted with us without formality.

* This prince predeceased his father.

In the evening they dined with me. A rich khelaut, with a palankeen, elephant, and horse, was conferred on the minister, the Nawab Vizeer having expressed to the acting Resident his solicitude that I should treat the minister with distinction.

March 5th.—We moved very early this morning. At sunrise, we met the Nawab Vizeer about three miles from Lucknow. I believe that each of us felt unaffected pleasure at this renewal of acquaintance. I quitted my own elephant to sit beside the Nawab Vizeer in his howdah. Thus we proceeded through the streets of the city to the palace. I lamented to find that the objectionable practice of scattering rupees among the populace was still kept up, and I was obliged to bear my share in doing what I censure, as the Nawab would otherwise not have thought himself at liberty to bestow this gratuity on the crowd, while he would have been secretly hurt at being restrained from displaying the expected liberality. I owe courteous compliances to one who assisted me during the late campaign with above one hundred elephants for carrying the tents of the European troops. The scramble for the rupees is

attended with numberless acts of brutal violence: the young and active extorting from the aged and infirm, or from women, the money which the feebler had the good luck to catch. I saw several blind persons dispossessed in that manner of the piece which I had managed to throw into the skirt of the garment held out by them. Nobody seemed to think it worth while to interfere for either the prevention or the punishment of the injustice. I was repeatedly duped by men apparently blind, who were led by others, but who immediately abandoned the disguise when the exertion of their sight was necessary towards securing a rupee that had fallen to the ground. The fraud was most dexterously performed. We breakfasted at the palace of Furruh Buksh, with the Nawab, after a contestation in the preliminary durbar, where I obliged him to take the right of me on the musnud. To break a connexion which possible (though not probable) circumstances might make troublesome, I insist on considering him an entirely independent sovereign, not as the Vizeer of the Mogul Empire in India. After breakfast, I retired to the British Residency, close to the palace, where I have fixed

my quarters. The Resident, Mr. Monckton, is not here. During his absence, the business is ably conducted by his first assistant, Captain Raper.

March 6th.—The Nawab Vizeer breakfasted with me. I had previously ridden to the park of Dilkoosha, which appeared to be very well kept in order. He seemed much gratified when I told him I had done so.

March 7th.—Having been told that it would be a pleasing compliment to the Nawab Vizeer if I would breakfast with Imteeanz-oo-Dowlah, I accepted an invitation from the young Prince, and went to his house this morning. The Nawab Vizeer and all the principal persons of the court were there. After breakfast, we repaired to Khoorsheed Munzil (mansion of the sun), a palace which the Nawab Vizeer has just completed. It is a small turreted building, representing a castle, with a moat, not ten feet broad, round it, and a tiny bridge.

In the principal room, my portrait occupied one end, and a full length of Mademoiselle Pariset, copied from the print, decorated the other. There did not appear to me to be any place for attendants

in this edifice, so that I suppose it is only intended as a place at which a breakfast may be occasionally given. It is about a mile from the town palace of Furruh Buksh, and a small park is forming. The building of it is just one of those expedients to which a person of unextended views is obliged to resort in order to get rid of superabundant wealth. At half-past six in the evening, we dined with the Nawab Vizeer. There was the usual entertainment of singing girls, who were as little calculated to please the eye as to gratify an European ear. But we had one accompaniment, novel at the feast of a native sovereign; an Irish bagpiper, Jerry Gahagan, whom the Nawab Vizeer has taken into his service, at a large salary, is a very good performer. One of the courtiers told me with a good deal of jocularity, that Jerry often disappointed the Nawab by sudden attacks of sickness (as they were construed) after dinner. On those occasions Jerry used to retire to his bed, at the foot of which a bulldog was chained, and at the head of it a large monkey. These trusty guardians would not let anybody approach to inquire into their master's malady. The narrator chuckled ex-

ceedingly at the Nawab's want of perception that the dram-bottle was Jerry's only disorder.

March 8th.—Prince Soliman Shekoh, and Prince Mirza Secunder Shekoh, brothers of the King of Delhi, breakfasted with me. In the early part of the morning I had gone to see the menagerie, having been told that I should find there a wild man. He was said to have been dug out of a hole in a bank near the Gorkha Hills, having been seen to creep into it when cut off from escaping, after five or six others who made their way into the jungle. By the description, he was sullen and ferocious, his language being quite unintelligible. In proof of his being wild, it was mentioned that when taken he was in a state of complete nudity; a proof not very conclusive, as I have seen the fakeers in our own provinces entirely naked. There was nothing peculiar in the man's appearance. He was small, but that is the case with all the inhabitants of the first range of hills. Instead of manifesting any savageness, he smirked and followed us throughout the menagerie, probably observing from the testimonies of respect paid to us that our party consisted of persons of rank. I

asked if any one who could speak the Gorhka language had ever been brought to address him, and was answered in the negative. I am satisfied that this supposed wild man is only a native of the hills, who with others had been obliged for some criminal act to seek refuge in the jungles. A large hole, the mouth of which could be easily blocked against beasts of prey, would be the likeliest shelter for such fugitives during the night. The Nawab Vizeer and all his principal nobles dined with me. The courtiers are very splendid on these occasions, being all dressed in brocades or richly embroidered cloth, with fine turbans. Elsewhere but in the Nawab Vizeer's dominions, the Mussulmans generally make a difficulty about sitting at table with Christians; but here there is no such objection, and the guests eat freely of our dishes. I had understood that the Mahommedans were strict against using the left hand in eating; this day, however, I had a proof to the contrary. There is a Hindostanee mode of dressing a fowl, by which, after having absorbed much spice, it is served up quite dry, and done as we term it to rags. One of the Lucknow nobles, who sat opposite to me,

took a whole fowl of this sort upon his plate, and holding it with one hand, he with the other (interchangeably) employed his fingers so dexterously as to pinch off from the bones every particle that could be swallowed. Another drew to himself at the dessert a dish of lemonade ice, all of which he managed to dispatch, though it required the fingers of both hands to get each piece up to his mouth, as he did not use a spoon.

March 9th.—I rode this morning to see the Char Bagh, a garden of the Nawab's, between two and three miles' distance from Lucknow. It is of great extent, but totally neglected. From the quantity of trees, it would afford positions for several elegant villas, and I was surprised to see such a tract of ground apparently deserted so near a city to which so many natives of rank resort. Probably there is some superstition or prejudice in the case. The late Nawab Vizeer,' Saadut Ali, ordered out from England an iron bridge, which he intended to erect over the Goomtee. It arrived safe at Lucknow, with two English mechanics destined to put it up. The purpose of raising it is abandoned; and the reason is avowed—namely, that as it is

deeply unlucky to complete a bridge begun by one's father, there would be danger that the evil fortune might extend even to a bridge bespoken by a parent. After breakfast I returned the visit of the Delhi Princes. On my return, I held a durbar, the monotony of which was a little relieved by the compliments which the natives were enabled to pay on news just received from Poonah. Brigadier-General Smith with his cavalry, on the 18th February, surprised the Peishwa, who, on the supposition that he should make the overtaking him impracticable, had thrown all his infantry and artillery into his forts, and kept the field with only his numerous horse. Gokla, the Peishwa's chief commander, put himself at the head of about 3000 men and made a gallant charge. He was, however, immediately killed, and the body which he had led being driven in confusion among those who were endeavouring to prepare their horses, all was thrown into irreparable disorder. The Peishwa sprang upon a fleet horse, and went off with the utmost speed; every man as fast as he could mount followed the example. The pursuit was continued as long as the horses of our troops, who

had made a march of thirty miles to get at the enemy, could furnish a gallop. The Mahrattas did not leave above 300 on the spot, but the panic in which the survivors fled would have all the effect of a more bloody victory. What was still more important, the Rajah of Sattarah and his family fell into our hands. If their exultation upon finding themselves transferred from the Peishwa (by whom they feared to be murdered) to us, with whom they believed their lives to be safe, was great, their astonishment was not less when they were informed that we meant to raise the Rajah to an independent sovereignty. The Peishwa was aware that such was likely to be our policy, and on that account he had dragged the unfortunate family into the field with him. The Nawab Vizeer, on learning this success, ordered a royal salute to be fired from each of the forts in the neighbourhood of Lucknow. In the evening, we dined with the Nawab Vizeer. Fireworks in the garden of the palace succeeded the dinner; and then I took leave, having previously insisted that not either the Nawab Vizeer or his son should accompany me during any part of the march

towards the Gogra. There was no affectation in the regret professed on both sides at parting. The young Prince said to the Resident sorrowfully, "Have I no chance of seeing him again?" The Nawab Vizeer himself had all the appearance of being excessively moved. The consciousness of reciprocal good offices has produced the sensation on both sides. This impression was so prominent in my mind, that the minuting it has made me pass over a circumstance worth mentioning. While I was sitting on the musnud with the Nawab Vizeer, waiting till dinner should be announced, seventeen sons of Ramzaun Ali Khan (one of the principal nobles) were brought up to present nuzzurs to me. On my expressing admiration at the show of so large a family, I was told that he had at home twenty children more, either females, or males too young to be introduced. Knowing that Ramzaun Ali Khan was not opulent, I was vexed at seeing his sons expensively dressed to pay that short compliment; till, after dinner, I learnt that the Nawab Vizeer had liberally ordered them to be completely equipped at his cost.

March 10th.—We crossed the Goomtee soon after

dawn by an excellent bridge of boats which the Nawab Vizeer had ordered to be prepared, and we advanced about seven miles to Cheynhaut, where we found our camp pitched.

March 11th.—We marched to Nawabgunge. On setting out in the morning, I found myself beset by an immense crowd of Lucknow beggars, who had pestered us during the whole of yesterday. Learning that it was their intention to accompany me at least till I should pass the Gogra, I applied for the assistance of Hafez Uln Khan, the darogha, who had been appointed by the Nawab Vizeer to attend me as long as I should remain within his dominions. He assured me that the camp should be free from them to-morrow; but he told one of the gentlemen that his not interfering without orders was on account of its being thought rather a matter of dignity to have those clamorous paupers in the train of the Nawab Vizeer's escort. Exclusive of the teasing importunity of these gentry, who endeavour to extort money by their noise, the numerous thefts committed in our camp last night render such appendages very inconvenient. Among the crowd, I recognised a fellow who had twice

deceived me at Lucknow by personating a blind man, and who laughed heartily the second time at the success of his imposture.

March 12th.—This day we reached Massowlie. The country through which we have passed is beautiful. It is, indeed, a dead flat, but it is covered as far as the eye can reach in every direction, with heavy crops of wheat, and decorated with extensive groves of large mango-trees. Numerous pools of water add to the variety of the scene.

March 13th.—Arrived at Byram Ghaut on the Gogra. There is here a cantonment, occupied by a detachment from Secrora (at some distance beyond the river), with two pieces of cannon. The troops who now hold the station belong to the 1st battalion of the 2nd Native Infantry. Major Duncan, commanding the battalion, joined us yesterday. He speaks in high terms of the salubrity and comforts of Secrora and Byram Ghaut. That the quality of the country was altered, appeared from our being encamped on something very like a grass plot. I have seen a worse attempt at greensward in many a field of Norfolk that had been laid down as grass for three or four years. We found

here a darogha dispatched by the Nawab Vizeer to collect and superintend boats for our passage of the river. A more magnificent man I have not seen for a long time. He met me on a horse richly caparisoned, himself being clothed in fine brocade trimmed with fur. His elephant and his gaudy palankeen followed him, so that he was in the height of state. I regretted to tell him that he was to have the trouble of getting his boats up the Chowka Nuddee, which is a branch that separates itself from the Gogra above Kyreeghur and rejoins the river at this place.

March 14th.—Reached Lalpore.

March 16th.—We yesterday reached Bansorah, where we are now encamped. There were so few boats up that we made little progress in getting our things across the Nuddee (stream) till this morning. The fault did not lie with the darogha, who is no less active than gorgeous; but the large boats could not remount the current so as to keep pace with our march. The great difficulty has been the getting the camels across. Four have been drowned to-day by staggering off the platform-boats into the water. They are helpless in these

circumstances. The faculty of swimming would be uselessly bestowed on an animal whose frame and qualities appear to have a special adaptation to the regions where he is indigenous. His length of leg and broad fleshy foot, with a comparative exility of trunk, are admirably suited to the traversing rapidly wide tracts of sand; while the same peculiarity of conformation unfits him for swimming, an exercise to which he never can be called in his original country. The elephants swim particularly well. One, however, refused to take the water to-day; a strong rope was then put round his neck and fastened to the neck of another elephant, who dragged the stubborn one towards the water, while another pushed him behind. In that manner they soon got him off the bank, when he swam across with great tranquillity.

March 17th.—We crossed this morning, having in the interval learned that there was no truth in the information which we had received at Lalpore, as to the interference of a second channel with our route. It was the artifice of the zemindar, who wished to dissuade us from coming into the lands belonging to him, lest the standing crops should

suffer from us as much damage as they would from the Nawab's hunting party. If he heard the assertion that we should pay for any injury we might do, I am sure he would not believe it. On landing, we were met by the Aumil (superintendent of the province), Hakeem Mehdy Ali Khan, with his brother and many attendants. The Aumil told me he had the Nawab Vizeer's orders to attend me throughout all the territories within his jurisdiction. In our way to Terwah, where we have taken up our ground, we have passed through a country as highly cultivated as that which we left on the other side of the Chowka Nuddee. The wheat is not sown in drills, as is the case in Bundelcund; but the crops are most luxuriant, and not a weed to be seen in any of them. I asked the Hakeem how the corn was kept so clean, to which he answered that it was owing to the unremitting attention of every one to destroy weeds, wheresoever they found them growing in the roads or fields near the villages, so that there was not any seed of them to be carried by the wind into the ploughed ground.

March 18th.—In our road to Poorunpore, we have beaten an extensive Jow (tamarisk) jungle,

but we could not find a tiger, though we were assured that one haunted the place. A list of the current prices of articles in the surrounding villages is given to me every day soon after we have halted, that by such a check I may prevent the camp-bazaar from making the soldiers and camp-followers pay exorbitantly. From to-day's list, I infer that poultry must be in great plenty in this country; for eggs are at one hundred and fifty-six for a rupee; that is, at the rate of five eggs for less than an English penny.

March 19th.—Sir David Ochterlony has arrived in camp, having come in his palankeen, with relays of bearers, from his division in the Jyepore territory. He was accompanied by my old acquaintance, the Nawab Ahmed Buksh, whom I was really glad to see again.

March 20th.—We retraced our steps to Terwah, our route to Poorunpore having been easterly. At noon to-day I invested Sir David Ochterlony with the ribbon of the Grand Cross of the Bath. The Hakeem and the Lucknow functionaries attendant on me, with all the native as well as all the European officers of our camp, were invited to give as much

character as possible to the ceremony. In the evening, I had a dinner, at which all the European gentlemen were present. The Aumil, or Hakeem, though he has absolute rule over a territory as large as three or four English counties, is not (according to the law of the Medes and Persians, which changeth not) of rank to sit at table with me. Ahmed Buksh possesses the due elevation, and is my guest as long as he remains in camp. He has as little scruple as the Lucknow Mussulmans about eating with us.

March 21st.—Reached Peterassee Ghaut, on the Gogra, and found above seventy large boats assembled for us. We have agreed to continue on this side of the river for four or five marches more. I noticed to-day the laborious mode in which the fields are tilled. The soil, very tenacious, is broken-up with heavy hoes, evidently from the inefficiency of the miserable kind of plough which alone is known in this country. The clods are then broken with clubs, after which the surface is pulverized with a light harrow. Great industry must be used to produce what I witness.

March 22nd.—Moved, and encamped at Mulla-

pore. Praising, to the Hakeem, the condition in which I saw the districts under his superintendence, I asked what was the encouragement he gave to cultivators who undertook to reclaim jungle land. He said that from the first crop he took nothing, from the second he took a seventh, which he did not augment for two or three years more, till it was seen that the undertaking was decidedly beneficial to the speculator. In that case, a fifth of the crop is demanded for Government. It is taken in kind, and is the only deduction from the profit of the husbandman. In old cultivated districts, a third or a composition for it is exacted by Government.

March 25th.—We marched on the 23rd to Sereea; all a cultivated country. This morning we reached a spot still called Rajapore, from the name of a large village which no longer exists. The Aumil, with great judgment, built four villages, each at a distance of about a mile from this place; and he divided the families of the ancient village among them, taking care to make their new accommodation more agreeable than the old. In this manner, with but a moderate outlay of

money, he gave to the people such facilities for bringing the jungle into cultivation, that they set about it vigorously, and have brought a very considerable tract into good tilth. I observed a curious circumstance in fording a river. The number of elephants which took the water at once produced such an agitation in it as alarmed the fish to some distance, and I saw several of the fresh-water mullets skip along the surface for fifty or sixty yards. Their whole bodies were seen, and they only touched the top of the water by a succession of bounds. This fish is often seen in Bengal during the hot weather, swimming for some time with its head entirely out of the water.

March 26th.—I have omitted to mention that Sir David Ochterlony left us on the night of the 22nd, to return to his troops in the Jyepore country. The interview with him has enabled me to settle all the arrangements for maintaining a field (or advanced) force in a position calculated to afford ready means of crushing any attempts at troubling the security which we have promised to the Rajpoot States. Ahmed Buksh manifested a handsome spirit of disinterestedness. When I

learned that he had accompanied Sir D. Ochterlony, I suspected that he had some application to make; but he never insinuated any request, nor do I believe that he contemplated any advantage. When I was in the Upper Provinces, three years ago, I distinguished him by civilities, from liking the manliness of his character. To show his sense of that attention, he undertook this toilsome jaunt of 400 miles (day and night) in palankeen, having to retrace the same extent. The fact proves how much influence attends a little politeness from any of our functionaries in high station. I gave him a valuable sword when he took leave. We had yesterday evening sent forward the baggage to Pursah, the place where we are now encamped.

March 27th.—We halted at Pursah. Fahrenheit's thermometer is now usually about 95° in the middle of the day. Rain having fallen in the night, I this morning saw again the glorious range of mountains which separates Hindostan from Tartary. At this season, though the air seems perfectly clear, there exists a haze which prevents even any dim adumbration of the mountains from being perceivable, unless after copious showers.

The snowy peaks are still indistinct, showing themselves only like patches of white clouds, as if sky intervened between them and the highest ridge of the black mountains; yet the bold abruptness with which this vast barrier rises from the plain is exceedingly striking to an eye accustomed to the ordinary uniformity of surface in the provinces bordering on the Ganges. Perhaps there is more than mere contrast in this. I believe that there is in our nature a notion of sublimity attached to elevation, and some indistinct conception of making oneself a momentary partaker of the superiority is a more operative cause of the propensity one feels for clambering up eminences, than any curiosity from the expectation of an extensive view.

March 28th.—We set out before daybreak for Muttairy.

March 29th.—This being Sunday, there was, of course, no shooting; but it was necessary to proceed to Rummia-Bheer, in order that on the morrow the principal part of our baggage might be dispatched across the Gogra before us. In riding from Muttairy to the present ground, a circum-

stance occurred which shows how deficient natives of rank are, not only in general knowledge, but in information relative to facts appertaining to their immediate vicinity. One of my aides-de-camp pointed out to Mirza Hadi the brilliancy with which one of the peaks of the Himalaya ridge exhibited itself, from being illumined by the rays of the rising sun. Mirza Hadi agreed in the observation, and accounted for the appearance by saying that it arose from the whiteness of the freestone which composed those peaks. On the officer's telling him that what he saw was the snow which permanently covered that range of mountains, Mirza Hadi laughed in ridicule of the notion; asking how it should be conceived that snow should lie unmelted on the peaks when there was not any on the plain, since those summits were so much nearer the sun. Yet Mirza Hadi is not only able in his management of the district under his brother, the Aumil, but lives in constant society with the latter, whose title of Hakeem (learned man) ought to imply that he had the means of communicating some principles of natural history.

March 30th.—We remained at Rummia Bheer.

March 31st.—We had fixed to march to Mudaneeah. In the night, a villager arrived to inform us that a few hours before a tiger had attempted to carry off a labourer, who had, however, been luckily saved by some of his comrades, whose shouts had intimidated the tiger. They had been resting themselves in the jungle, and were not seen by the animal when he approached the poor fellow, who was working in a field. I set out before day to look for this ferocious creature, imagining that its haunt did not lie very wide of the line of march. The guide, however, carried us off a long way. The tiger was not found, though numerous prints of his feet in the sand evinced that he frequented the jungle which we were beating. After a long and tiresome circuit, we crossed the Gogra over a bridge of boats, which the Aumil had caused to be constructed. It was well made, though not in the capital style of our bridge across the Jumna. The branch of the Gogra which we thus passed is at present only 180 yards wide, though the dry sand on each side shows that in the rainy season it must be an immense stream. We forded another branch, and

reached our camp at Mudaneeah somewhat after eleven o'clock, by which time the heat was intense.

April 1st.—We went out to look for tigers on the island between the two branches of the Gogra, being told by the people that five had haunted it for some time. The traces of their feet in the sand were so numerous as to prove that the place had been recently frequented by more than one. But though we beat the jungles with great accuracy, we did not find any. Having restricted ourselves from shooting at other game, the day's sport was lost. Another party saw a tiger, which escaped them. It is curious to observe the force of habit. Were a tiger to get away from a showman in England, and to be supposed hidden in some of the copses, no person would venture to labour in any of the neighbouring fields. Here, the people not only work close to the usual lair of tigers often seen by them, but actually follow their cattle into those jungles. Nor does this proceed from any experience that the tiger, if unprovoked, is not likely to attack them; for they have constant instances of the animal's seeking to prey upon men.

The danger is one to which their minds have been accustomed from youth, and they consider it as a condition inseparable from their existence.

April 2nd.—We marched nearly north to Bhurtpore, beating some jungle and killing some deer in our way. The country here is nearly untilled. It consists of extensive plains checkered with open woods of the Seesoo. This tree, in its general appearance, much resembles an old birch, except that the leaves are of a livelier green; but its timber is strong and serviceable. The plains are covered with grass, which, though it does not form a sward like that in England, is rich and succulent. It is the Doob grass. Numerous parties of the Brinjarries have fixed their temporary habitations throughout this tract for the purpose of pasturing their cattle during the dry season. Their huts are very simple. They are composed of reeds, and look like long narrow roofs taken off from thatched cottages. Being without upright walls, they appear not to allow height for any one to sit at his ease but just in the centre. This, however, is of little importance to the owners; because, as they always select a spot close to a grove, they sit (both men

and women) under the trees in the day, using the hut only for sleeping. The herds of cattle belonging to these stations, respectively, seem to run from a thousand head to thrice that number.

April 3rd.—Arriving at our present ground of Mohaneeah, we learned that a native had been badly wounded by a tiger. The head serjeant of the Quartermaster-General's department had been just questioning the poor fellow about the places at which a nullah, apparently muddy, was passable; he had gone but a little way from him, when he was called back by the screams of the man, who was, however, providentially delivered before the serjeant could approach. The man had been passing near a reed-bed; the tiger suddenly dashed out upon him and attempted to carry him off. A herd of buffaloes, of which the man had the care, chanced to be close to him; bold from being in a mass, they charged the tiger, and forced him to quit his prey. The man was so much torn that his recovery is doubtful. We went out this afternoon, as soon as the sun had got tolerably low, to look for this tiger; but we were foiled by the swampiness of the ground. Several elephants were bogged im-

mediately, and we found it wholly impracticable to beat the jungle, which was of great extent.

April 5th.—We marched yesterday to Simrie, and thence this day to Kuckera; both marches in a south-easterly direction. The greater part of this morning's track was through a part of the forest. It is devoid of underwood; the timber in general shabby, though now and then a fine saul-tree occurred. The length and straightness of bole in that tree, as well as the tough, durable quality of the wood, renders such timber valuable. I have noticed a phenomenon, which the inhabitants of these parts call the double dawn. The day appears to break, but those first streaks of light pass away, and the sky becomes again obscure for a minute or two, when the light shows itself anew and augments rapidly. The cause is easily comprehended. The ridge of mountains is to the east of us. The first rays of the sun striking on the snowy summits produce a reflection of light on clouds immediately above. As the sun rises, the ray no longer takes the snow in the angle necessary to produce the effect, while the elevation of the interjacent mountains retards our view of the

ordinary dawn. Our proximity to the snowy range makes the air really cold till about eight o'clock; and although in the middle of the day the thermometer reaches 90°, we have not had any sensation of the hot wind which we learn has for three weeks past been strong at Lucknow.

April 6th.—Marched south-east to Kureecha, principally through the forest. When we came out upon an extensive plain, on which the wood-cutters have erected the congregation of huts denominated a village, I observed the camp-followers eating greedily something which they appeared to collect among the grass. On my inquiring what it was which they seemed to relish so much, some plants of the grass (pulled up by the roots) were brought to me. The blade of the grass is not, at this season at least, above three inches in length. It is hard, tough, and devoid of succulence. The tufts grow detached from each other, not producing anything like a sward; but each plant had a number of short thick stems; on these there were found many white excrescences, from the bigness of the largest pea to double that size. These were evidently exudations from the

sap. They were saccharine and farinaceous; so that they were pleasant and probably nutritive. One might be tempted to admire this economy of nature, which provides by an unusual process a food for animals denied in the quality of the leaf itself, did one not recollect the sandy deserts where no substitute for ordinary nourishment is discoverable. The motives for bestowing a boon or withholding it are equally beyond our reach. Shall a worm measure the wisdom of the Almighty?

April 8th.—Yesterday morning we reached through a skirt of the forest to Basbureeah, an assemblage of reed-huts belonging to some new settlers, who have just cleared or broken up an extensive tract for cultivation. It is only two miles from Namparah, which is mentioned as a considerable town. We met here Sir Roger Martin, Mr. Forde, Mr. Mordaunt Ricketts, Mr. Ainslie, and Captain Stoneham, who had come from their neighbouring stations to join me. Some of our camp elephants who followed us with baggage were stopped in the wood by a large wild elephant; he did not attempt to injure them, but would not let them pass. When the officer commanding the

rear-guard came up, he made some of his men load and fire at the stranger, who went off in consequence, but quite leisurely. This morning we have by the advice of Sir R. Martin made a march of fifteen miles, in nearly a northerly direction, to reach the bank of the Rapty; and we have halted near a village called Koolwye. The country on this side of the Rapty is a plain, part of it terroiee, which implies land prepared for rice crops. The soil is singularly productive in that grain. The forest comes down to the other side of the river, which is a clear gently-flowing stream, with some stones in its channel, but still not a pebbly bottom. We are now within seven or eight miles of the first range of mountains. They are wooded and have a bold appearance; but the sublime effect of the entire ridge is lost by our being too near the intervening ranges to see the principal one. In contemplating that eternal snow, one has a feeling analogous to pride. It must be an indistinct sense of triumph at mastering by comprehension that which we know to be insuperable by bodily exertion.

April 9th.—Last night an elephant belonging

to the Aumil got loose, and threw the camp into great confusion. He killed his mohout, who had probably on some occasion maltreated him, for the animal did not attempt to injure any one else. I am told that elephants will retain for a long time a keen remembrance of any peculiar harshness used towards them. The people, fearful of his doing more mischief, drove him out of camp by pushing torches at him; and he betook himself to a wood, whence he has not yet returned.

April 10th.—We marched at an early hour, designing to beat some coverts which lay little wide of our route. The first of them was a wet hollow with thick reeds in parts of it. Following its course without success, we found it widen into what is called here a jheel, that is, an extensive pool with a scattering of reeds, which implies the water to be of no considerable depth. The ground having been sound in such portions of the hollow through which we had passed as were covered with water, it was taken for granted the bottom of the jheel would be so likewise. We, therefore, attempted confidently to cross it. Suddenly my elephant sank in the mud till the water reached its eyes.

The situation was perilous in the extreme. To get off from the elephant was out of the question, on account of the mud. On the other hand, it was with the greatest difficulty I could save myself from being thrown out of the howdah, so violent were the jerks given by the elephant in its endeavours to extricate itself. In making these exertions, it often laid the side of the howdah nearly flat on the water. After long struggling, the animal managed to turn itself round, and I could feel that it was bending up first one of its fore-legs, and then the other upon the firmer ground, whence we had made our plunge. They have prodigious force in drawing themselves forward when they have got upon their knees, so that when this was effected we soon got out. The elephant was much strained.

April 13th.—On the 11th, we marched twelve miles, approaching obliquely the hills. Our route lay through portions of the forest which separated extensive plains prepared for a rice crop in the rainy season. There was nothing particular but the appearance of several canoes at a village remote from any stream. Such a provision shows what a

deluge must rest upon this plain during the wet period of the year. We encamped near a hamlet called Bughwora-Tal, and we halted there yesterday, which was Sunday. This position was close to the edge of the forest, through which to the first range of hills the distance cannot be more than three miles. This morning we advanced to Mussarah. From an alteration in the direction of the first hills, which now trend eastward instead of south-east, we increased our distance from the mountains by preserving our former course.

April 15th.—We marched yesterday to Hutteea Coon, and have this day encamped at Huneea. No shooting in the course of either march; for the whole country is an interrupted sheet of cultivation. Great industry is evidently employed, yet the implements of husbandry are wretched. The people live in small hamlets of huts, built with reeds or matting, upon a rude framework of wood which the neighbouring forest supplies.

April 19th.—We reached Jurmah Kummereea this morning, Sunday. We had the discomfort of finding that a very bad fever was raging in the villages around us, though we had made the march

expressly to get out of the way of malady prevailing near our last encampment.

April 21st.—Yesterday morning we moved our camp about three miles from the infected villages; and it was placed on the bank of the Bangunga, a fine pure stream, while we went to beat some jungles which had been described to us as excellent by the people of the neighbourhood. After having been led a great distance, we found the supposed jungles to be places unfit for sheltering game; our disappointment was balanced to me by the opportunity of seeing many flowering shrubs and trees with which I was not before acquainted; some fragrant, others beautiful. A low tree, which appeared to me to be a sort of guava (different from the West Indian), was in great profusion. This morning we marched at half-past three.

April 22nd.—Our camp remained on the same ground as yesterday. The Aumil, his brother, and his nephew had their audience of leave, when I conferred on them dresses of honour in token of my having been satisfied with their attentions.

April 24th.—Our tents were sent forward to be pitched on the bank of the Tenavie.

April 25th.—We encamped about two miles east of Lotun, avoiding that place, as the pestilence was committing ravages in it.

April 26th.—We marched to Secundra, and took up our ground between a fine running stream and a large jheel of clear water. No spot could appear more healthy, yet we had the mortification of finding that the pestilence was in all the surrounding villages. It has broken out in our camp; but our experience in the manner of treating it has stood us in good stead. On the first attack, about twenty grains of calomel are put upon the tongue and washed down with spirits or peppermint water. It seems as if the sudden impulse given to the stomach by this quantity of calomel prepared the nerves of it for the subsequent administration of laudanum, which was given largely with peppermint and spirits.

April 28th.—This morning we marched to Natoon. Several deserted villages were pointed out to me. The inhabitants had been forced to give up the cultivation of that tract on account of the quantity of wild elephants who destroyed the crops. The poor people had raised several small

platforms, on very strong posts, with the notion that by using their matchlocks from them they might frighten away the spoilers; but the elephants pulled several of the men down with their trunks, and then trampled them to death. Three men were killed in this manner in one night.

April 29th.—Reached Phoolwar, where we were met by the pleasing account that Lieutenant-Colonel Adams had given Bajee Rao a severe blow. When Bajee Rao's fortunes seemed desperate in his own territories, the Rajah of Nagpore secretly invited him to push with his army for that capital, where our force was (he represented) small, and where Bajee Rao should be joined by the Rajah and all his troops. We luckily got at that correspondence. The Rajah and his ministers were seized. When the ministers found we were in possession of the whole business, they confessed without reserve, and upbraided the Rajah to his face for having forced them against their repeated remonstrances to take a part in this act of treachery. The Rajah answered, that it was his duty to risk ruin for the service of the Peishwa, who was his legitimate superior in the Mahratta

empire, and that as the ruin had fallen on him, he must bear it. When this principle shows itself to be paramount to all ties of faith, it is lucky we have been forced to break down the Mahratta power. Bajee Rao, on approaching the Wurda, learned the seizure and deposition of his brother conspirator. He then halted, probably, to wait answers from Scindiah, to whom he had sent vakeels. The approach of Brigadier-General Doveton obliged him to move and take a northerly course; but Lieutenant-Colonel Adams ably headed him. The Mahratta army was thrown into immediate confusion by a few rounds from our horse artillery, followed by a charge of cavalry, the infantry of Lieutenant-Colonel Adams' division not having been able to keep up in a march of thirty-four miles. About 400 of the enemy were killed, and five brass field pieces taken from them. The constrained change of route, and the disorder of all parts of Bajee Rao's force, will probably enable Brigadier-General Doveton to overtake the enemy, and complete the work which the extreme fatigue of Lieutenant-Colonel Adams' cavalry unavoidably left imperfect.

April 30th.—Arrived at Goruckpore. It was time that we should quit the field, for the heat is now very great. During the last two days, with all the artificial management so well understood in this country, I could not keep the thermometer in my tent lower than a hundred.

May 5th.—I have had time to look around me, and observe the nature of this station. The soil appears very poor, which accounts for the paucity of cultivation in the immediate neighbourhood of a town containing sixty thousand inhabitants. The forest, that is to say a prolongation of it, comes within half a mile of the cantonments, and is full of wild elephants, often dangerous for those who late in the evening travel through it. Tigers, also, haunt the vicinity, but cannot be pursued among the trees. Decayed tombs, and groves of old mango trees, so extensive as to give the environs the appearance of a vast wood, attest that Goruckpore must at some former period have been a place of considerable wealth and importance. It is curious, that out of this multitude of mango trees not one has been grafted, so that the fruit is uniformly bad. Even in the gardens of the Euro-

peans, little management has been shown in the culture of fruit, though peaches, grapes, and figs are said to thrive well here. The only fruit now in season is an apple about the size of an English crab, mild, mealy, and nearly without flavour. Nobody has yet thought of improving them by grafting, notwithstanding the natives are expert in that process.

May 8th.—I this day received a deputation from the Government of Nepaul. It consisted of Kajee Bulner Sing, Dobee Bhuggut, and Kundhur Gunput Oopadheea. The first appeared a well-bred man, frank, though polished and respectful in his manner. The second seemed very intelligent, and equally well-mannered. The third was an expletive. There was something comic in the notion of their being sent to compliment me on my successes over those with whom they had been secretly negotiating a league against us; but, in dealing with governments as well as with individuals, one should give every facility for the treading back a false step. On that account, I studied to show cheerful courtesy to these deputies, of which they appeared, and subsequently expressed themselves, duly sen-

sible.' I gave private presents to each of them, as well as khelaats or dresses of distinction. They had brought for me some of the beautiful pheasants of the hills—the crimson kind figured by Edwards, and the green and gold called in some late publication the Impeyan Pheasant. The poor birds were, when produced, so overcome by the heat that it was evident they could not be kept alive. One of the strong mountain-sheep, on which packs of goods are brought from Tartary to Nepaul, was presented to me; likewise an animal which I conceive to be the moufflon described by Buffon, and whence he imagines the various breeds of domesticated sheep to have been deduced.

May 17th.—The proceedings of several general courts-martial have lately been perused by me here in ordinary course. They substantiate a fact, which I had noticed before, deserving of remark. The number of sepoys tried for the murder of their comrades is very considerable. In our native regiments, none but men of high caste are suffered to enlist; so that the individuals being ordinarily connected with respectable families, have the best chance to be impressed with any just sentiments or

principles of rectitude that may be afloat in the country. A dignity, too, is attached by general opinion in India to the character of a soldier; whence the sepoy may be expected to habituate his mind to a generous tone of thought. This latter impulse does influence the conduct of the sepoy with regard to certain points, but does not appear to have any effect upon it relatively to the crime here contemplated. In the many instances of that crime brought before me, there is not one in which it has been committed in momentary passion. The cases are uniformly marked with deliberateness; and it is astonishing how trifling a motive, whether referable to cupidity or spleen, is sufficient to prompt assassination. The gain of four or five rupees, or the gratification of the most petty pique, seems quite enough to urge the sepoy to the cold-blooded murder of his fellow-soldier and intimate companion. The cause lies in this, that the perpetrator has no conception of the atrocity of the act. Let this be the answer to those who contend that it is unwise to disseminate instruction among the multitude. Absence of instruction necessarily implies destitution of morality. God be praised,

we have been successful in extinguishing a system of rapine which was not only the unremitting scourge of an immense population, but depraved its habits by example, and inflicted necessities, while it stood an obstacle to every kind of improvement. It is befitting the British name and character that advantage should be taken of the opening which we have effected, and that establishments should be introduced or stimulated by us which may rear a rising generation in some knowledge of social duties. A time not very remote will arrive when England will, on sound principles of policy, wish to relinquish the domination which she has gradually and unintentionally assumed over this country, and from which she cannot at present recede. In that hour it would be the proudest boast and most delightful reflection that she had used her sovereignty towards enlightening her temporary subjects, so as to enable the native communities to walk alone in the paths of justice, and to maintain with probity towards their benefactress that commercial intercourse in which we should then find a solid interest.

May 21st.—The deposed Rajah of Nagpore, Appa Sahib, has made his escape from the escort,

which was conducting him to Allahabad, where he was to reside within the fortress till the Government of his cousin (a minor) should have acquired stability. When the danger of a counter revolution should be over, it was intended that he should have liberty to live in the city of Benares with the allowance of a handsome income. His flight may be attended with some trouble to us. Though he is destitute of energetic qualities, any person of prominent rank, whose success would lead to the enriching his adherents, readily collects in this country active and turbulent adventurers versed in the modes of assembling the needy armed vagrants with which central India swarms; and Appa Sahib, from the delicacy observed in not searching him when he was sent from Nagpore, carried off some of the crown jewels of great value. It is at least consolatory that our disinclination to impose on the prisoner any restraint which might subsequently have been thought by us more than necessary, has given him the facility of getting away. Perfidious as he had been, and incorrigibly persevering in that treachery, there is a commiseration due to fallen greatness, which should forbid the giving it a

mortification not absolutely indispensable for one's own security. We erred in our calculation of the sufficiency of precautions, but we erred on the right side.

June 1st.—Bajee Rao, the late Peishwa, is in the neighbourhood of Assear-gurh, with a slender force. His troops were so dispirited, and so harassed by the constant pursuit which they had suffered, that large bodies quitted him with the professed purpose of going to their homes in the Poonah state, and submitting to the British Government. Chimnajee Appa (Bajee Rao's brother), and Appa Dessye Nepaunkur, one of the principal Mahratta chiefs, carried off their followers with this intention some time ago. They have since surrendered themselves to Mr. Elphinstone. Bajee Rao's object in crossing the Tapty and taking his present course, was to push for Gwalior. He trusted that his appearance there, and the influence of his office upon Scindiah's sirdars, would force the Maharajah to take the field in his favour. All the passes, however, are so well watched by competent corps, that Bajee Rao has found the plan impracticable. Unable to retire again across the Tapty on account

of Brigadier-General Doveton's arrival on the opposite bank, Bajee Rao has sent a negotiator to Sir J. Malcolm. He has been informed that he can never be permitted to hold again a public station. If he shall surrender himself, he will be suffered to reside at Benares, with a fit allowance for the maintenance of a household becoming a person of rank; but if his decision be not immediate he will be attacked. Our detachments are closing round him. The fear of passing the rest of his days in confinement, which, were he taken, would be his lot in punishment of his wanton and venomous treachery, will probably make him throw himself on our mercy. What a proud situation he has lost through devotion to a low, illiterate, and profligate favourite. It is not probable that Scindiah's governor of Aseer-Gurh will admit Bajee Rao into it. He knows that we possess the Maharajah's order for the surrender of it to us, though the course of affairs rendered it unnecessary for us to enforce it; and were that order now to be brought forward, the Killehdar's disobedience to it would place him in the light of a rebel. The speedy reduction of Mundelah by Major-General Marshall,

and of Chanda by Lieutenant-Colonel Adams, holds forth to the Killehdar an intelligible warning, that by sheltering the ex-Peishwa in his fort (which would entail immediate attack from us), he would only hopelessly involve himself in a worse condition than that of the fugitive.

June 10th.—The radical policy of the Mahrattas was oddly avowed lately by an agent of Scindiah's. The rights or possessions of the Mahratta chiefs are strangely intermixed with those of the different rajahs between the Jumna and the Nerbudda. In one instance there was a district enveloped in the territories of the Rajah of Boondee, the annual revenue of which was divisible in equal portions between the latter chief, Holkar, and Scindiah. As the two Mahratta Princes kept agents there to watch over their shares, there was an obvious chance of quarrels; and we wished to secure the Boondee chief, who had been taken under our protection, against any vexatious pretention on the part of his neighbours. It was therefore proposed that Scindiah should cede his title to any income from the district in question, and should receive from us certain villages producing a rent consider-

ably beyond what we wished him to give up. A strong disinclination to close with this proposal was manifested. When it was urged that Scindiah would not only be a great pecuniary gainer by the exchange, but that he would acquire a tract which actually connected itself with his old possessions, and would be exclusively his, the Mahratta negotiator denied that the circumstance of sole occupancy could be an advantage to his master equal to what the maharajah enjoyed by his co-partnership in the Boondee district. On surprise being expressed at this assertion, he explained it by saying, "We Mahrattas have a maxim that it is well to have a finger in every man's dish." His meaning was, that there was solid value in pretexts for interference which would afford opportunities of pillage or extortion.

June 17th.—Bajee Rao has submitted and placed himself in the hands of Sir John Malcolm. He had been so surrounded that resistance or retreat was equally impossible. That he will live tranquilly on the generous allowance (equal to one hundred thousand pounds yearly) which we have assigned to him, is not believed by me. His in-

triguing spirit never will be at rest. Though he has lost much treasure in the field, and though Mr. Elphinstone obtained possession of a hoard of his valued at seventy-five lacks, he certainly has with him considerable riches in jewels. They will furnish the means for any sudden collection of troops; as whosoever has money in this country may always find adventurers provided with horses and arms ready to enrol themselves for pay without the least consideration for the cause; and he will seek to fashion a juncture in which his funds may be so employed. The conspiracy would probably be discovered, and only entail on him an imprisonment which we have been loath to inflict, notwithstanding his former guilt. In the meantime, this event terminates the war, and completes the destruction of the Mahratta power. The resources of Scindiah will now dwindle into absolute insignificance; and he must, without recurrence to a subsidiary treaty, look to the British Government for the maintenance of his authority over his own subjects. The dispersed plunderers having now no head under whom they could reunite, will look out for other modes of subsistence; and it is to be hoped that a

tranquillity will prevail in central India which we may improve to noble purposes. The introduction of instruction into those countries, where the want of information and of principle is universal, is an object becoming the British Government. It is very practicable. Detachments of youths who have been rendered competent at the Lancasterian schools in Bengal under the missionaries, should be despatched under proper leaders to disseminate that method of teaching. Its progress would soon enable numbers to read and comprehend books of moral inculcation in the Hindostanee language. Lady Hastings caused a compilation of apologues, and of maxims relative to social duties, to be printed for the use of her school at Barrackpore. It was not only studied, to all appearance profitably, by the boys, but many individuals of high caste in the neighbourhood used to apply for the perusal of copies. It has all the attraction of a novelty, while the simplicity of what it recommends is likely to make impression on minds to which any reflection on the topics was never before suggested.

June 19th.—It rained very heavily yesterday. Riding, this morning, over a large tract of ground

which had been peculiarly arid, I saw a number of frogs, of the fullest size, sitting round a splash of the water which had so recently fallen. They were so nearly white that only a slight tinge of yellow was perceivable in the colour. I was told that they were but just come out of the earth, and that in two or three days their skins would have re-assumed their natural appearance, which is exactly like that of the frogs in England. It was evident that the skins had been bleached by their long seclusion from light; yet I am not aware that this effect is observed upon frogs in Europe, on their coming forth from their winter retreats; and I suspect that some property of the soil must aid the change here. It seemed to me that these frogs were studiously exposing themselves to the sun.

July 3rd.—Having embarked yesterday evening, we this morning began our course down the Rapty. This river rises between the first and second ridges of the mountains, so that it receives no accession from the melting of the snows, and it has now no strength of current. Fortunately it rose above two feet last night, from heavy rain which had fallen the day before; a circumstance important for the

security of our boats, which are otherwise liable to founder by striking on the trunks of trees half embedded in the sands under water. The Rapty is not now wider at Goruckpore than the Thames at Hampton Court, but its banks show that late in the rainy season it becomes a considerable stream.

July 6th.—This day we entered the Gogra, which we found to be at least two miles wide. The current is not so rapid as I had been taught to expect, whence it may be inferred that the river has not yet attained its height. We lost but one boat in coming down the Rapty; probably it had touched on some spur of a submerged tree, for immediately after it had been perceived to leak it filled with surprising quickness; as it happened to go down in shallow water the men and horses (belonging to the body-guard) were all saved.

July 8th.—Yesterday I quitted the *Sona-mukhee* soon after she had weighed anchor, and I rowed ahead to look at a remarkable Banyan tree, close to the village of Revel-Gunge, near the confluence of the Gogra and Ganges. It must at one period have been a beautiful tree; but the parent

stem has long been cut away; so that what remains appears an assemblage of trees laterally connected in singular and fantastic ways. It has the merit of a group, and exhibits the still continuing process of originally pendant fibres swelling into new trunks. There is disappointment, however, from the want of evidence to the eye that the mass is the produce of one stock. It is unaccountable that when the natives attach a religious veneration to trees of this sort, which have spread themselves to any tolerable degree, no trouble seems ever to be taken for aiding the extension of such as would offer every invitation to the care. To fence the tree against cattle, which browse greedily on the tender filaments, is all the attention necessary. Having returned to the *Sona-mukhee*, we entered the Ganges about one o'clock. It had then begun to blow hard from the east. The adverse wind, and the roughness of the water occasioned by the opposition of the gale to the stream, soon scattered our fleet sadly, and I was compelled to anchor, lest I might hazard the safety of some of the vessels by overtaxing the efforts of the crews. The gale continued violent all night, and has persevered this day, con-

straining us to remain in our positions, with little communication between the vessels.

July 9th.—The gale having subsided, we weighed anchor this morning and arrived early in the afternoon at Dinapore. No accident had happened in our little fleet, which is very fortunate, considering the situation where the gale found us. As the Ganges is above five miles wide in that part, and the wind had to blow up a reach of at least double that extent, the force of the waves was considerable. A circumstance related to me by Mr. Wemyss, collector of the district, may give a notion of the ravages committed by the pestilence. It raged here nearly about the time when our camp in Bundelcund was suffering from it, and more than two hundred and fifty persons were buried out of two moderate sized villages. We shall never have any tolerable conception of the aggregate loss in these provinces, but it must have been dreadful.

July 10th.—Though the wind was rather adverse, it was moderate, and the strength of the stream carried us well past Patna this morning. We had not long been clear of the city, keeping

as close as we could to the windward shore, when the wind suddenly shifted and drove us with irresistible force towards the land. Such vessels as had time let go their anchors. Mine luckily held. Five vessels were wrecked, and some others received damage; all the people of the vessels which went down were saved.

July 13th.—We have this day anchored close to Monghyr, the strength of the wind against the violent current forming whirlpools through which we dare not trust our heavy laden baggage boats. The shift of wind on the 10th did not last. The gale returned to its former quarter, and has continued from the east with a violence which has annoyed us much. One of our store boats drifted and was in great peril. An officer reprehended a fellow aboard her who sat smoking instead of assisting in exertions for the safety of the vessel and of his own life, though the dress and appearance of the man indicated him to be a dandee or waterman, the fellow replied with perfect composure that he had nothing more to do with the vessel, as he had hired a substitute who was then

at the oar, and he himself had paid for his passage to Baughlipore.

September 2nd.—A sad chasm exists in my journal. Just after we had passed Monghyr, which a favourable shift of wind enabled us to do with safety to all the boats, packets from England came to occupy my attention. They were in two or three days succeeded by voluminous papers from the Council; and as no remarkable incident presented itself, I neglected my entries. On landing at Calcutta on the 23rd July, I found such an arrear of business waiting for me as could not but wholly engross my time and thoughts. Having mentioned my landing at Calcutta, I ought not to omit saying how deeply I felt the behaviour of the immense crowd of natives assembled along the road by which I walked from the ghaut to the Government House. All was silence; but there was something in the kind, and respectfully welcoming looks of the poor people infinitely more touching than the loudest shouts of joy could have been.

September 6th.—The advantage that may be

gained by giving a little turn to an occurrence in politics has been just strongly exemplified. A vessel has arrived from Rangoon with some Burmese officers, who are probably of more consequence than they represent themselves. Their ostensible purpose in coming hither is to make inquiry respecting some delinquents who have fled from their state; their real object, as may be gathered not only from likelihood but from their repeated questions to individuals, is evidently to ascertain if the Mahrattas had been beaten down as completely as rumour asserted. In the extensive conspiracy of the Peishwa, begun before my arrival in this country, the co-operation of the Burman Empire against our power formed a part. The emissaries of the Peishwa succeeded perfectly with the King; and his Majesty favoured us, early this year, with the obliging requisition that we should cede to him Moorshadabad and the provinces to the east of it, which he deigned to say were all natural dependencies of his throne. The ambassador charged with this courteous communication was detained at Dacca while the

letter was forwarded to me. I directed the letter to be returned to the King, not through the ambassador, but by way of Rangoon, with a friendly representation that I knew his Majesty's wisdom too well to be the dupe of the artifice which had been attempted; that I sent to him a letter purporting to be from him, but clearly forged by some of his frontier chieftains, who thought they might find personal advantage in a rupture, though it would be injurious to both countries; and that I was so confident of his Majesty's indignation at the profligate effort that I felt the ties of our amity drawn closer by it. Fortunately for the King, the rainy season prevented his acting till the accounts of our successes had reached his ears, and he has now despatched these officers to satisfy themselves whether the game was really over. He will now compliment my sagacity in detecting the forgery, and will make use of the loophole to withdraw undiscredited. The circumstance shows, too, the benefit of rapidity in war. Had our operations been less speedily decisive, we should have been obliged to devote a force (ill spared) to prevent

that devastation of our territories which his Majesty graciously threatened in our default of obedience.

September 19th.—A curious circumstance has occurred. I went out in my carriage. As is the custom in this country, the groom, or dresser, of each horse was ready to accompany it; but at starting, one of the four turned back, leaving the three others to proceed. The fellow soon rejoined us by taking a short cut across a place round which the carriage had to make a degree of circuit. When I had got home, another of the syces told his comrades that he must hasten for a draught of water, and he ran before them to the building where they are lodged. Unluckily, he found the cooking-pot taken off the fire, and either through hunger, or through thinking it a good joke to be beforehand with his messmates, began to feed eagerly. The cook, coming in, called to him to stop, telling him he had seen the syce who had slunk back put something into the pot and stir it about, imagining himself unperceived. It had been the cook's intention to advise the other syces not to taste the food till they had made the fellow

eat some of it. On this being explained to them, they desired the villain to eat some of the mess. This he declined, saying that as he found himself discovered it did not signify if he avowed his object, which was to make all of them mad, and thereby get them turned away from my service. I learn that a drug which produces this effect is well known among the syces. The poor fellow who took part of the food became completely insane in a few hours, and his comrades say he will remain in that state for three or four months, but that the drug never occasions death. In the Upper Provinces, it is a frequent practice for wretches, under the appearance of travellers, to attach themselves to any party journeying on the road, and then (as if in return for the protection afforded) to offer to the latter a share in some food, which they pretend to have obtained in charity. The food is prepared, and produces rapid stupefaction, often, though not always, followed by death; the helpless creatures are then plundered by their new companions. The notoriety of the trick, and the proclamations of the magistrates to put people on their guard, do not prevent continued instances of this.

September 27th.—I happened to mention to an engineer officer the change which had, in the course of one rainy season, taken place at Dinapore. The cantonments were a considerable distance from the Ganges, and one used to go some way up a nullah to reach them. The violence of the river has swept away all the intervening land, so that the barracks are now on the bank of the Ganges. The officer related to me a much more remarkable alteration, which he had the opportunity of ascertaining most accurately. He had been encamped at Surdah, three hundred yards from the Ganges, on a bank of sand and clay, which was twenty-four feet above the level of the water. Returning to the place after the rains, he found that the tract on which his tent had stood was wholly swept away. Being able to ascertain the exact spot where he had resided, by a distance measured at the time from a silk factory, he sounded the water there; the depth was thirty feet. From this experiment he could establish that a mass of earth, two miles in length, fifty-five feet in depth, and on an average two hundred and fifty yards broad, had been carried away in one season. This gives some

notion of the formidable currents which are to be encountered by those who have to proceed up the river.

October 6th.—This day I went to the Rumnah. It is a spot of some extent, covered with high jungle grass, useful for thatching. I purchase the standing crop every year from the village to which it belongs, at a rate which the villagers conscientiously do not carry to more than thrice what it ought to be. My object is to have a degree of sport now and then in the cold season by seeking for a few wild hogs and partridges which haunt the place. As the villagers are allowed to carry away all the grass cut to make openings through the jungle, and, moreover, get at the close of the season all that has not been trampled by the elephants, they have a decent advantage in the bargain. A curious circumstance was mentioned to me on the spot. A deep nullah or creek, with high steep banks, bounds one side of the Rumnah. A man was sitting on the bank mending his net, when an alligator crept out of the nullah at a considerable distance from him, and, coming behind the man, seized and carried the poor wretch into the water.

There was a cunning as well as a boldness in this act which I should not have attributed to an alligator; but the fact was testified to us by so many persons who actually saw it, that I cannot doubt the truth of the relation.

October 14th.—I have finally settled a business which I had anxiously at heart. A son of the Rev. Dr. Carey, one of the Baptist missionaries, has undertaken the introduction of village schools in Rajpootana, on Lancaster's plan. He takes up with him, for this purpose, several native boys, educated at Lady Hastings' school, and at the school of the missionaries. I have allotted six thousand rupees for this experiment, without trespassing on the Company. There was an occurrence in which I was thought exposed to hazard, and the Nawab Vizeer, as an act of devotion on account of my escape, wanted to have three thousand rupees scattered among the beggars. I suggested that a much better use might be drawn from the money, by making it furnish some instruction to ignorant natives, than in flinging it to idlers who were mendicants, not from necessity, but by profession. The Nawab Vizeer

caught readily at the project, and requested that the money might be so applied. By adding an equal sum of my own to it, I make it our joint effort, and the fund is fully sufficient for the trial. I have now fashioned everything respecting it completely to my satisfaction. The want of instruction in the vast territory of Rajpootana, containing several independent states, may be judged by this; the first minister of Jyepore, a man otherwise of ability, cannot write, and can scarcely read. The unremitting course of spoliation which has ravaged those fine countries for the last fifty years produced a sort of despair, which made every one neglect all concerns but that of living through the passing day.

November 7th.—I have been noticing a number of those minute ants which swarm about our rooms, employed in dragging a dead hornet along the floor. Their mode of conquering insects so prodigiously beyond their own size, and which one might suppose formidable for them, had on prior occasions been observed by me. When they find any large insect exhausted and incapable of active efforts to escape, they surround it in multitudes

clambering up to its head in rapid succession, and each one infusing its venom. The poison soon dispatches the animal assailed; then the body is dragged away to some safe place, generally the little vacancy left between the mat and the wall. How these ants, which at other times one sees only straggling singly over the wide extent of the floor in a large room, can so suddenly assemble in numbers to attack their prey is a curious question. That they do give each other intimation cannot be doubted. I remember having seen three parties, each dragging a large moth along the floor in the same direction, with the interval of about a yard between the parties. A little in front of each set, several ants were running with great exertion, spreading themselves at times to right and left of the line by which their prize was to be carried. I remarked that, although they frequently ran back to those who were dragging the prey, they did not strive to take share in that labour, but immediately hastened forward again. It struck me that their business must be to ascertain if the course was clear ahead, and to communicate the assurance to their comrades. To try if it was so, I placed my

foot between the second and last of the parties, striking the ground, with it gently. When the explorers came within the concussion, they were evidently alarmed, and turned back in great haste to their body; upon which the party instantly changed its route, carrying off the moth at right angles from their former direction. Two facts seem settled by the experiment; first, that intimation of danger was distinctly conveyed; secondly, that the ants were not bearing their burden to any fixed domicile. I have never been able to discover a nest of those ants, and I believe them to be completely migratory; because, though I have sometimes found a number of them congregated behind a shutter at night, in three or four nights after there would not be one in the place. I thence surmise that they do not drag apart for their own food the insects which they kill, but that they carry their prey to a safe corner in order to lay their eggs in it, so as that the little worms when hatched (which, I suppose, takes place rapidly) may have sustenance. The ants reared in that way would probably attach themselves, as soon as they attained their perfect shape, to the first gangs they

met. No investigation of this sort can be frivolous when the deductions from such petty premises lead to no less an end than a juster perception of the dispensations of Almighty wisdom. The remark I have made to-day suggests a pregnant conclusion. Their own support, if not the nourishment of their young, exacts from these ants that they shall live in a state of perpetually active exertion for massacring other animals. There is nothing confounds the mind more than the contemplation of that arrangement by which certain sorts of creatures can only maintain existence through killing others; by which, indeed, such extra provision appears made for the destruction of animated being as that many kinds seem to have been framed with dispositions insufferably teasing and noxious to others, so that the slaughter of multitudes of them is secured without the agency of any impulse to prey upon them. Life presents itself as bestowed only for the purpose of its being extinguished, and this inscrutable end appears as fully answered after an hour's existence as after a protracted term. Why beings should be created and endowed with exquisite sensitiveness merely to suffer and be destroyed

is a question which bewilders thought whensoever it is reflected upon. We attempt to reconcile the difficulty by saying that, when one distinguishes in other respects such bountiful adaptations for the creature called into life, the same Beneficence must regulate the other portion of the animal's destiny, though we are not capable of unravelling it; and we endeavour to satisfy ourselves with this persuasion. Surely a more illogical process cannot be imagined than, instead of balancing contradictory phenomena, the assuming bounty in the second case, where the circumstances are diametrically opposed in their nature to those whence we infer Beneficence in the first. In consequence, I do not believe that any one could steadily examine the operation of his mind on this subject without being sensible that his acquiescence in the popular conclusion is an effort of reverence, not a result of perfect conviction. We have a strong inclination to believe firmly that which is so consonant to our notions respecting the goodness of the Creator; yet we cannot establish that point of creed by the same measurements which influence our opinion decisively on other parts of the question. There

is one mode of considering the matter, which perhaps disentangles it. Our reason, whence we deduce all consequences which we feel and pronounce to be certain, is possibly allowed to act only in prescribed lines. There are points which, though partially and obscurely exposed to our mental ken, appear not to be subjected to our ratiocination. When we attempt to parallel any one of those with deductions fashioned from the habitual workings of our reason, we forcibly endeavour to square the circumstance with rules to which it can have no relation. Considered by our ordinary course of conceptions, incongruity, discordance, repulsion must be the issue. But these belong to the inapplicable standard, not to the intrinsic quality of the fact. In the latter, therefore, nothing exists really repugnant to the belief which we are prone to entertain; and when it is so shown that our reason does not protest against the faith, we are entitled to feel comfortable in a solution correspondent, as to its bearings, with our just reliance on the kindness of an Almighty Father.

December 13th.—We have had accounts of the Rajah of Jyepore's death. Two of his wives and two

female slaves burned themselves on the funeral pile with his body. I am conscious that such a circumstance does not occasion here those painful and revolted feelings which would arise in one's mind were one removed to the distance of England from the scene. It is not that the frequency of the occurrence causes apathy, but here one sees in this disgusting and barbarous custom relations with a variety of particulars in the forms of society, which though almost impossible to be detailed, take off from the strangeness of the procedure. A blind ignorance, which makes the poor victim credit all that is told her by the Brahmin, is the cause more immediately influential. The Brahmin urges the sacrifice from superstition and attachment to habits; but it is to be apprehended that he is often bribed to exert himself in overcoming the fears of the hapless woman; because the family of the deceased husband save by the immolation of the widow the third of the defunct's property, which would otherwise go to her. The miserable condition to which a woman is reduced when left childless at the death of her husband forcibly aids the inculcations of the Brahmin. She is, as to estimation and treatment,

reduced below the rank of the meanest servant. She cannot marry again; she has no chance of enjoying society; she must not even, though she have money, set up an independent establishment for herself; and her own paternal or maternal family have, with the usual absence of all affectionate ties among these people, altogether cast her off from the hour of her first repairing to her husband's roof. Despair, therefore, conspires with bigotry and enthusiasm to make her take a step reconciled to the contemplation of women in this country from their earliest youth; while the absolute incapacity of such an uninformed mind as hers to have any distinct sense of the pangs she must undergo promotes the obstinacy of her resolution.

THE END.

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